

A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE
DESCENT of the ROMANS,
TO THE
DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO
His present Majesty, GEORGE III.
By the Rev. WILLIAM RIDER, A.B.
Late of Jesus College, Oxford.

HISTORY is *philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke from Dion. Hall.

VOL. VIII.

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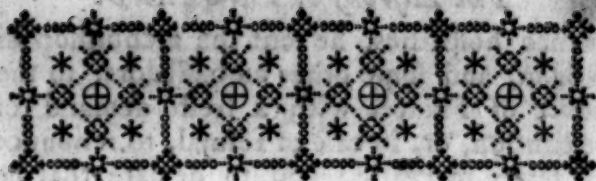
A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND

FROM THE
DESCENT OF THE ROMANS
TO THE
DEATH OF KING GEORGE II.
INSCRIBED TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
GEORGE III.
BY
JAMES OBERLIN, ESQ.
OF
ST. MARTIN'S LANE, ESQ.



Printed for S. Gower, at the
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THE
History of ENGLAND.



The HISTORY of HENRY II.
continued *.



HILIP, conscious of his own guilt, did not attempt to justify his conduct, and therefore refused to give an audience to the ambassadors; so that Henry was obliged to arm in his own defence. Having raised a strong body of English, reinforced with several thousands of Welsh infantry, he transported them into Normandy, where they were joined by the troops of that duchy; but, still unwilling to com-

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* A. D. 1183.

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mence hostilities, he sent the archbishop of Rouen, and some other ambassadors, to the court of France, with a fresh demand of restitution, or, in case of refusal, to renounce all fealty to Philip; and to declare that he would, for the future, regard him as his mortal enemy. Philip replied, that he was resolved to continue the war until he should have reduced all Berry, and the Vexin Normand; and Henry finding that nothing was to be expected from gentle means, entered the territories of France, and, after having burnt S. Clair sur Epte, he advanced to Mante, where the French army was encamped. After having in vain endeavoured to provoke the enemy to a battle, he marched to Ivry, from whence he detached several parties of his men, who ravaged the adjacent country, and burnt Dreux, Danville, and some other places.

Philip being at last convinced, to his sad experience, that he was no match for Henry in the field, began to sue for peace, and offered to restore all the places he had taken in Berry. A conference was accordingly held near Gisors, and continued for three days, but without producing any good effect. Whether Philip was displeased with any thing that had passed in this interview, or was vexed at the bad success of the treaty, he shewed his resentment in a manner

ner more worthy of a peevish child, than of a great monarch. He ordered the large elm, which grew near Gisors, to be cut down, because Henry delighted in sitting under its shade.

It was probably owing to the unjust and unreasonable demand of Philip, that this negociation proved abortive; for, immediately after the conference, the counts of Flanders and Blois, with several other French barons, laid down their arms, and declared that they would never use them against Christians, until they should have returned from Jerusalem. Philip, thus deserted by his vassals, was obliged to desire another conference, in which all disputes were well nigh compromised. Philip agreed to restore to Henry, all the conquests he had made since the late truce; and Richard engaged to make the like restitution to the count of Thoulouse. But a bad heart is always suspicious. Philip, conscious to himself of the insincerity of his promise, and well knowing that he never had, and never would perform a treaty, which he could break with impunity, imagined that Henry would act in the same manner, and therefore demanded the castle of Pacey as a security for the performance of articles. But Henry, whose conduct in this respect had been always irreproachable, scorned to a-

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gree to a condition which seemed to imply a distrust of his honour ; so that this conference proved as ineffectual as the former. The negotiations for peace, however, were still carried on by deputies with such a prospect of success, that Henry sent back his Welsh troops, and disbanded the mercenaries ; and another interview was appointed to be held at Bon-Moulins, on the eighth of November, for putting a finishing hand to the treaty.

Henry had long suspected some secret collusion between his son Richard and the French monarch ; and he now found his suspicions but too well grounded. Philip offered to restore all the places he had taken, on condition that his sister Alice should be immediately married to Richard, and that all the king's subjects, as well in England as in his foreign dominions, should take an oath of allegiance to that young prince. Henry made no difficulty in complying with the first of these conditions, provided Philip would give up Bourges, and perform the other articles of the contract ; but the last he absolutely refused, as an insult upon his authority. Richard was so incensed at this refusal, that he immediately threw himself at Philip's feet, and did him homage for Normandy, and all the other places that he held of France, of which he now received
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HENRY II. 7

the investiture. Thus was the mystery of iniquity (as Neubrigenfis calls it) which had been so long working, at last made public. It now appeared that this was a preconcerted scheme, between the French king and Richard ; for while Henry stood motionless and confounded at this extraordinary scene of treachery and ingratitude, Philip and his new vassal walked off to the astonishment of all the spectators.

Henry, whose presence of mind never deserted him amidst the greatest dangers, immediately resolved to take such measures as might prevent the designs of his enemies. For this purpose he marched directly into Guienne, and sent his chancellor Geoffry into Anjou, to secure the castles of that country against the attempts of the confederates. Richard's conduct was so odious and hateful, and so universally condemned by every impartial person, that cardinal Albano (who had lately been sent into France, by pope Clement III. as his legate, to effectuate a peace between the two crowns) laid him under a sentence of excommunication as the chief obstacle to the treaty ; and this prelate dying soon after, the pope, who was uneasy at the delay of the crusade, sent the cardinal of Anagni to succeed him in the legatine power, and to establish a peace between
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the two monarchs. This new legate was no sooner arrived in France, than he persuaded both parties to refer their disputes to the judgment of him, the archbishops of Rheims, Bourges, Rouen and Canterbury.

Mean while, the last of these prelates was sent by Henry to try if he could reclaim Richard by mild and gentle methods. But all his endeavours proved ineffectual. Richard's head was so full of jealousies, which his French friends instilled into him, that he threw off all sense of filial duty, and would hearken to no terms. Henry had ever shewn a great fondness for all his children; and the affection he now expressed for John (who, besides Richard, was his only surviving son) was made use of as a handle to inspire Richard with a suspicion, that his father designed to disinherit him in favour of his younger brother. This groundless suspicion, which had no foundation in truth, was further corroborated, in Richard's opinion, by his father's refusal to invest him with the royal diadem; so that the young prince had now an opportunity of covering his ingratitude and rebellion, with the specious title of maintaining his own rights and privileges.

Furnished

Furnished with this pretext, he exerted his utmost endeavours in raising up enemies against his father; and as most people are naturally disposed to worship the rising sun, several of the barons of Normandy, Anjou and Guienne, renounced their allegiance to Henry, and espoused the cause of Richard. The example of these noblemen was soon followed by Ralph de Fougères, and the turbulent barons of Brittany, who had been deeply concerned in every rebellion that had been raised against the king of England; and as Henry was now seized with a dangerous illness, even those who had hitherto adhered to his interest, began to stagger in their fidelity, and to wish well to the cause of him whom they considered as their future sovereign. Richard did not fail to improve this favourable opportunity. By a profusion of presents and promises he drew over such an immense number of barons to his side, that a general plan of operations was formed, and intended to be carried into execution immediately after the expiration of the truce,

Accordingly, the truce having ended at St. Hilary, Richard made some incursions into his father's territories; but these were soon stopped by a renewal of the truce, which was to continue till after the Easter-holidays.

holidays. Henry was in great hopes of obtaining a lasting peace through the good offices of the legate, by whose interposition another conference was appointed to be held at La Ferté Bernard. In this interview Philip not only repeated his former demands, but added another condition, viz. that prince John should accompany his brother to the Holy Land, a request in which he was seconded by Richard. Their pretence for making this demand was, that if Henry, who, on account of his age and infirmities, was excused from going to Palestine in person, should happen to die during the expedition, John might not take the advantage of his brother's absence to seize the crown, or excite any disturbances; but their real motive seems to have been a desire of obstructing the conclusion of a peace, which Philip from interest, and Richard from jealousy, were inclined to prevent.

Henry observed, that though Richard had taken the cross without his knowledge, he was nevertheless willing to furnish him with every thing necessary for performing his vow in the most honourable manner; but that if his son had been guilty of one piece of folly, that was no reason why he should be guilty of another, in exposing his dominions to the ambition of a foreign invader,

invader, in case he should die during the absence of both his children ; and he therefore rejected the proposal. The legate Anagni, who assisted at the conference, was so fully satisfied with Henry's conduct, that he threatened to lay an interdict upon the French king's dominions, if he would not consent to a peace without insisting on this unreasonable condition. Philip heard his menaces with silent scorn ; but the passionate Richard was enraged to such a pitch of madness, that he unsheathed his sword, and would have plunged it in the legate's bosom, had not the other members of the assembly interposed, and prevented the commission of such a barbarous action.

Henry seems to have been dubious of the event of this conference ; for he had, previous to the meeting, sent Ralph de Glanville to England to bring over all his knights, not even excepting those who were generally excused from foreign service, on account of their inability to defray the expences of the voyage. Such a measure was absolutely necessary, amidst the defection of his Norman subjects, some of whom were daily dropping away, and revolting to Richard ; but his enemies did not allow him time to receive this reinforcement.

The conference was no sooner finished, than Philip and Richard retired to Nogent
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de Rotrou; where having assembled their troops, they advanced with great expedition, and reduced La Ferté Bernard, Montfort, Malestabe, Beaumont, and Balon. They then made a feint, as if they intended to take the route to Tours; but turned short unexpectedly, and marched to attack Le Mans, where Henry lay with seven hundred knights, and a small body of forces. Their sudden appearance threw his men into such confusion, that Stephen de Tours, seneschal of Anjou, setting the suburbs on fire, the flames were unhappily suffered to spread over the walls, and occasion a conflagration in the city. Geoffry de Bruillon endeavoured to stop the progress of the enemy, by breaking down a stone bridge built over the Sarthe; but before he could execute his design, he was attacked, wounded, and taken prisoner; and his men flying in disorder, the French pursued them so closely that they entered the city along with them. Henry finding it impossible to rectify the disorder, occasioned as much by the fire as by the sudden attack of the enemy, abandoned the city and retired towards Frenelles, leaving only thirty knights and sixty soldiers in the castle of Le Mans, which, after having been battered for three days, and at last undermined, was forced to surrender.

render.* Next day, Henry having dispatched William Fitz-Ralph, seneschal of Normandy, with William Mandeville, earl of Essex and Aumale, to defend that province, and ordered his chancellor Geoffry to proceed with the bulk of his army to Alençon, he himself repaired with a small train to Angers, and was soon after joined by Geoffry with a party of knights at Savigny.

Mean while, Philip and Richard proceeded in their conquests with little or no opposition. The lord of Mont Doubleau delivered up his fortress and joined the confederates. The castles of Trou, Roches L'Eveque, Montoire, Chateau-du-Loir, Chaumont, Amboise, and Rochecorbon sur-

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* Some modern historians have ascribed Henry's conduct, during the whole of this action, to the most absolute cowardice and pusillanimity; a charge which every other part of his life concurs to disprove. For our own part, we cannot perceive where is the pusillanimity in making a safe and honourable retreat, when all resistance would be vain and ineffectual. But there are some men of such a particular cast of mind, that they never ascribe any action to that motive to which every impartial and unprejudiced person would naturally impute it. In this they think they discover their sagacity and penetration, never reflecting, that while they endeavour to shew the goodness of their heads, they frequently betray the badness of their hearts,

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rendered without resistance. Having thus reduced all the adjacent country, they forded the Loire, and invested the city of Tours, which they took by scalade, the inhabitants either locking themselves up in their houses, or retiring into the castle, which soon after submitted.

In the mean time, the conferences were still carried on at Azay, by the legate and the prelates and nobility of both kingdoms, who having now settled the articles of peace, transmitted them to Philip by the hands of the count of Flanders, attended by the duke of Burgundy, and the archbishop of Rheims *. These articles being qualified by Philip, were, by the same ambassadors, carried to Saumur, where Henry then resided, in order to receive his approbation. Henry was in no condition to refuse any terms which his enemies might think proper to propose. He saw his troops daily deserting; his cities and castles surrendered without resistance; he suspected treachery on all sides; and not knowing whom to trust, he was obliged to ratify the articles, without presuming to make any alteration. These imported that Henry should renew his homage to Philip, which he had renounced in the beginning of the war; and that he should put Adalais into the hands of one of five persons to be
named

* A. D. 1189.

named by Richard, who should marry that princess after his return from Palestine; that all Henry's subjects should take an oath of fealty to Richard before his departure; and that such of them as had revolted to that young prince, should stay with him till the last month before he set out for Jerusalem, the time of which was fixed at the Midlent following, and the rendezvous appointed to be held at Vezelay. Henry was further obliged to pay twenty thousand marks of silver to the king of France for defraying the expence of fortifying Chateauroux; and Philip, on his part, engaged to restore to Henry all the places he had taken in Berry; but was permitted to retain the cities of Le Mans and Tours, with the castles of Trou and Chateau-du-loir, until the articles should be fulfilled. There was likewise another article inserted in the treaty, by which it was provided, that all the burgesses of the demesne towns of the king of England should enjoy the privilege of trading in France, upon paying the usual customs, and that they should not be impleaded unless in cases of felony.

This treaty was first ratified at Azay, on the 30th of June, and on the 4th of the succeeding month was signed in another conference at the same place, from

whence the king, in a very bad state of health, was removed to Chinon. He had been infirm for a considerable time; and was now seized with a fever, which was supposed to be the immediate effect of grief and vexation, occasioned by the unnatural rebellion of his children: even his favourite son John, for whom he had always discovered the most tender affection, deserted him in his greatest distress, and joined his adversaries. This was the severest stroke he had hitherto felt, and greatly contributed to increase the violence of his distemper, of which he died at Chinon two days after the ratification of the treaty.

His corpse was conveyed by his natural son Geoffrey, to the nunnery of Fontevrault; and next day, while it lay in the abbey-church, Richard happening to come in, was struck with horror at the sight. This panic, with which he had good reason to be affected, on account of his undutiful behaviour to the best of parents, was greatly increased by an accident, which the superstition of the times interpreted into a preternatural omen. At his approach the blood gushed out at the mouth and nostrils of the corpse, in such plenty, that the assistants were frequently obliged to wipe it away with a
napkin

napkin. The funeral rites were performed with great solemnity and decorum; Richard assisting at them with all the marks of the most unfeigned contrition and sorrow. Immediately after the obsequies, Geoffrey delivered to his brother the great seal, which, during his father's life-time, he had kept as chancellor, and which had been carefully deposited under the seals of all the barons, who were present at the king's decease.

Thus died in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, one of the best and most illustrious sovereigns that ever filled the English throne. He was, of all the princes of the age, the most universally esteemed in his life-time, and the most generally lamented at his death, as well by foreigners as by his own subjects, whose happiness seems to have been the chief aim of all his endeavours. Not satisfied with enacting good and wholesome laws, he took care to see them executed with the greatest punctuality. For this purpose he made frequent progresses through all the different parts of his dominions, inspecting the behaviour of his officers and magistrates, and severely punishing such as were either negligent or unjust in the performance of their duty.

He was of the middle stature and the most exact proportion; his hair was light and bushy; his face was round, fair and ruddy; his blue eyes were naturally mild and engaging, but flashed like lightening in a transport of passion, into which he was sometimes thrown by sudden provocations, though when he had reason to expect a shock, no man had ever a greater command of his temper. He was broad-chested, strong, muscular, and inclined to be corpulent, a disposition which he endeavoured to correct by a constant course of exercise and fatigue. He was extremely temperate, or rather abstemious in his meals, and hardly ever sat down except at supper. He was eloquent and persuasive in his studied discourse; agreeable and facetious in his common conversation: he was remarkably courteous and polite, compassionate to all in distress, and ever ready to assist them; and so extremely charitable that he constantly allotted one tenth of his household provisions to the poor; and in a famine, which prevailed in Anjou and le Maine, he maintained ten thousand indigent persons from the beginning of spring till the end of autumn.

His parts, which were naturally good, he had improved with great care and application. He delighted in the company and
conversa-

conversation of learned men, of whom he always kept a considerable number about his court, and rewarded them with great generosity and munificence. His memory was so uncommonly retentive and tenacious, that he never forgot a face he had seen, nor a circumstance he had either read or heard, that was worth remembering. He was a prince of the most undaunted courage and invincible fortitude; possessed of greater power and riches than any of his contemporaries, and yet he never engaged in war without the most pressing necessity; and was so averse to bloodshed, that he expressed uncommon grief at the death of every private soldier, and treated his captives with a degree of humanity that extorted applause even from his enemies. Never was the clemency of any sovereign so nobly and so gloriously displayed as was Henry's, in the several unnatural rebellions that were raised against him: not a single traitor was put to death, but he restored them all to the enjoyment of their estates and titles, as soon as the troubles were appeased.

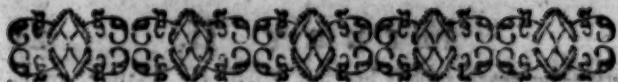
But no human character was ever perfect. Henry, though a great and a good prince, was still a man, and as such, was subject to many frailties and infirmities. He was passionate, ambitious, and incontinent, particularly

ticularly in the case of the fair Rosamond. But his virtues were chiefly beneficial to his subjects; his vices were only pernicious to himself. The monks have been at great pains to blacken his character, by accusing him of an unlawful commerce with the French Adelaïs, who was bred in England; but all their endeavours, instead of proving his guilt, have only served to demonstrate the malice of their own hearts. He was educated with high notions of the royal prerogative, which he bravely defended against all the thunder of the vatican, all the power of France, and all the rebellions of his subjects; who, whatever distrust they might have conceived against his person and government, were soon obliged to acknowledge the justice of the old maxim, that men are seldom sensible of their happiness till once they are deprived of it; for in the two succeeding reigns they had good reason to say, "that the little finger of the son's lay heavier upon them than the loins of the father *."

* By his queen Eleanor he had five sons and three daughters: namely, William, who died in his infancy, and was buried in the abbey of Reading; Henry, whose birth, coronation and death have already been mentioned; Richard, who succeeded his father on the throne; Geoffrey, who died at Paris, and was interred in the cathedral of that city; and John, surnamed Sans terre, who mounted the throne
upon

upon the death of his brother Richard: Maude, married to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and who died about the same time with her father; Eleanor, espoused to Alphonso VIII. king of Castile; Joane, wife of William II. king of Sicily, and after his death, married to Raimund VI. count of Tholouse.

Henry had likewise by the fair Rosamond two natural sons, viz. William Longue Espée, to whom Richard I. gave the earldom of Salisbury, with Ela, daughter and heiress of William D'Evreux; and Geoffrey, bishop elect of Lincoln, and afterwards chancellor. There was also one Morgan, a Welchman, provost of Beverly, who pretended to be a natural son of Henry, by the lady of a knight named Ralph Bloet. In 1213 he was elected bishop of Durham, by the unanimous consent of the monks of the chapter; and going to Rome for consecration, the pope offered to confirm his election, if he would acknowledge himself the son of Ralph Bloet. But Morgan refused the proposal, declaring that he would not renounce the honour of being sprung from the blood royal, to obtain any dignity whatever. The pope's offer seems to imply, that there was no other proof of Morgan's being a son of Henry's than his own assertion, otherwise he could not regularly have given him such an alternative; but all ages have produced some wrong-headed mortals, who, without any foundation but their own vanity, have either believed themselves, or endeavoured to make the world believe that they were the base issue of princes.



RICHARD I.

RICHARD, who, on account of his great courage, was surnamed Cœur de Lion, succeeded his father on the throne of England, and began his reign with an act of tyranny, which, if not excused by some provocation to us unknown, must have given his subjects a very uncomfortable omen of his future government *. Stephen de Tours was a man of mean birth but great talents. He had, by his uncommon capacity, activity, and diligence, recommended himself so effectually to Henry, that the king had not only appointed him seneschal of Anjou, and entrusted him with the custody of several castles in that province, and the charge of the royal treasure, but had likewise given him in marriage a lady of noble birth with a large fortune. Scarcely were the obsequies of the late king performed, when Richard caused Stephen to be arrested and loaded with shackles, until he had delivered up the treasure and forts committed to his care, and even the whole of his own fortune, amounting to five and forty thousand Angevin livres; and having thus stripped him
of

* A. D. 1189.

RICHARD I.



Engraved for Rider's History of England.



of all his wealth, he ordered him to be divorced from his wife, because she was a gentlewoman, and he of low extraction; and declared that he would, by his own authority, annul all such unequal marriages. But though he had treated Stephen with so much severity, he was, nevertheless, so fully convinced of his integrity and ability, that he continued him in his post, and allowed him to manage the revenue of Anjou.

The next act of Richard's reign was of a very different and a more virtuous nature, and may serve as a useful lesson to all those who desert the cause of their lawful sovereign, in hopes of making their fortunes amidst the troubles and calamities of their country. Far from punishing those who had adhered to their late master, or rewarding such as had joined himself, he retained the former in his service, and expelled the latter from his court, and ever after continued to despise them as perfidious traitors; and when Guy de la Val, Ralph de Fougères, Judael de Mayenne, and some others, demanded restitution of their lands and castles, which had been forfeited in former rebellions, he ordered them to be restored according to his promise, but turned them out the next day, telling them, at the same time, that those

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those who betrayed their lord and sovereign, ought ever to be treated in this manner.

Richard having settled the affairs of Guienne and Anjou, repaired to Seez in Normandy, where he was met by the archbishops of Canterbury and Rouën, who absolved him of the crime he had committed in taking up arms against his father, after he had engaged in the crusade. From Seez he went to Rouën, where, on the 20th of July, he was invested with the ducal sword and banner of Normandy, and received the homage and fealty of all the nobility in the province, distinguishing the solemnity with several acts of favour. He bestowed his neice Maude upon Geoffrey, son of Rotrou, count de Perche; to his favourite William de Mareschal he gave the daughter of Richard Strongbow in marriage, with the honour of Striguel; and to Gilbert, son of Roger Fitz-Rainfray, Eloisa, daughter and heiress of William de Lancaster, baron of Kendal. He confirmed his brother John in the possession of the four thousand marks a year in England, and and the county of Mortaign in Normandy, which his father had left him, besides the honour of Gloucester, which he enjoyed in virtue of his marriage with the late earl's daughter. He likewise gave the
royal

The Great Seal of Richard the First.



Engraved for Riders History of England.



The Great Seal of H. Richard the 1.



Engraved for Rider's History of England.



The 2^d Great Seal of H^y, Richard the 1st.



Engraved for Richard's History of England.



royal assent for electing his natural brother Geoffrey to the see of York, though he soon after disturbed him in the enjoyment of its temporalities, and seized his castles of Baugé and Langeais in Touraine and Anjou, which he obliged him to redeem by the payment of two thousand marks.

In a few days after, he had a conference between Trie and Chaumont, with the king of France, who restored the places he had lately taken, and demanded Gisors in return; but on Richard's promising to add four thousand marks to the twenty thousand, which his father had agreed to pay for the expences of the war, Philip thought proper to wave his demand. Having thus settled his foreign affairs, Richard set sail for England, and on the 13th of August, landed safely at Portsmouth.

England had, ever since the death of the late king, been governed by queen Eleanor, who, in consequence of an order from her son, had published an act of grace in favour of all transgressors of the forest laws, and of all criminals of what denomination soever, except such as had turned evidence against their accomplices, who were either obliged to abjure the realm, or remain in prison. This was a step, which, however popular, was nevertheless attended with

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many inconveniences, as it afforded too great encouragement to offenders to repeat their crimes, in hopes of obtaining the like impunity; and was, doubtless, the occasion of many of the disturbances which soon after happened.

Richard's first care after his arrival, was to ingratiate himself with the English nobility by some acts of generosity. He restored to the earl of Leicester all the estates and castles which he had forfeited in the late rebellions, and several others of the rebellious barons were indulged with the like restitution. He bestowed Avice, daughter and heiress of Ralph de Deols, and widow of Baldwin de Redvers, the fourth earl of Devon, upon Andrew de Chavigny, with the castle and honour of Chateauroux in Berry. He increased the appenage of his brother John by grants of the estate of William Peverel, the castles of Marlborough, Lutgershall, Bolsover, Lancaster, Nottingham, Tikehill, Wallingford, and the Pec; as also by the earldoms of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby and Lancashire; and John having married the heiress of the late earl of Gloucester, though within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, he became master of a considerable part of the realm, at a time when the king was going to set out

out on a long and dangerous expedition. The queen-mother had, previous to Richard's arrival, caused all the freemen in the kingdom to take an oath of fealty to him; and the same was now taken by the prelates and nobility at his coronation, which was solemnized on the third of September, in the abbey of Westminster*.

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* As the coronation of his present majesty has been so much the subject of conversation of late, the curious reader, we imagine, will not be displeased with an account of the coronation of Richard I. by which means he will be the better enabled to judge of the difference or agreement between the manner of performing that ceremony in ancient and modern times.

The archbishops of Canterbury, Rouën, Triers, and Dublin, with the other bishops and abbots, having the cross, holy water, and censers carried before them, received the duke at the door of his privy chamber, and conducted him with a solemn procession to the abbey church of Westminster. In the middle of the bishops and abbots went four barons, each carrying a golden candlestick, with a taper. After them came Geoffrey de Lucy, bearing the royal cap, and John de Mareschal next, with a massy pair of gold spurs: then William, earl of Pembroke with the royal sceptre: after him, William Fitz-patrick with a golden rod, having a dove on the top: then three other earls, viz. David, brother to the king of Scotland, as earl of Huntingdon; prince John, earl of Lancaster and Derby; with Robert, earl of Leicester, each bearing a sword upright, the scabbard richly adorned with gold: after them came six earls
and

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The ceremony of the coronation was disturbed by an incident which strongly marks the

and barons, bearing a chequered table, on which were laid the royal robes and other regalia : then followed William Mandeville, earl of Albemarle and Essex, bearing a large crown of gold set with precious stones : next came duke Richard himself, with the bishop of Durham on his right hand, and the bishop of Bath on his left, and over him a canopy of state was born by four barons : and last of all followed a great train of earls, barons, knights, &c. In this order he came into the church, where, before the high altar, laying his hands upon the evangelists and relict of saints, he took a solemn oath, that he would observe peace, honour, and reverence to Almighty God, his church and her ministers, all the days of his life ; that he would exercise upright justice and equity towards the people committed to his charge, and that he would abrogate and annul all evil laws and wrongful customs, and make, keep, and sincerely maintain those that were good and laudable. Then they put off his garments from his middle upwards, except his shirt, which was open on the shoulders, and put on his shoes, which were of gold tissue, and the archbishop of Canterbury anointed him in three places, viz. on the head, the arms, and the breast, which unctions signify glory, fortitude, and wisdom : then covering his head with a linnen cloth, he set the cap thereon which Geoffrey de Lucy carried : and when he had put on his waistcoat, and on that his Dalmatia or upper garment, the archbishop delivered to him the sword of the kingdom, to subdue the enemies of the church ; which done, two earls put on his spurs, and he was led, with the royal mantle hung on him, to the altar, where the archbishop charged him, on
God's

the licentious manners of the times. The Jews had lived in peace and tranquillity during

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God's behalf, not to presume to take upon him this dignity, unless he resolved inviolably to keep the vows and oaths he had just then made; to which the king answered, that, by God's grace, he would faithfully perform them all. Then the crown was taken from beside the altar, and given to the archbishop, who set it upon the king's head, delivering the sceptre into his right hand, and the royal rod into his left. Thus crowned, he was brought back to the throne with the same solemnity as before. Then mass began, and when they came to the offertory, the king was led by the bishops of Durham and Bath to the altar, where he offered a mark of pure gold, as his predecessors were wont to do, and afterwards was brought back to his throne by the same bishops. After mass, he was attended, thus royally arrayed, to a chamber adjoining, in like procession as before; whence (after a short repose) he with the same procession returned into the choir; and having put off his heavy crown and robes, he went to dinner. At the coronation-feast, which was kept in Westminster-hall, the citizens of London were his butlers, and those of Winchester served up the meat. The archbishops and bishops sat down with the king, whilst the earls and barons served in the king's palaces, as their places and dignities required. *Hoved. Tyrrel, &c.*

Ralph de Diceto (who was then dean of St. Paul's, and in the vacancy of the see of the London, officiated at the coronation, and delivered the chrism, or consecrated oil with which the king was anointed) has these remarkable words, "Richard, earl of Poitou, being by hereditary right to be made king, after a solemn and due election by the clergy and laity,

during the happy reign of the late king; and being desirous to ingratiate themselves with the new monarch, by making him a present on his accession to the throne, some of the wealthiest among them had resorted to London from all parts of the kingdom, in order to agree upon the sum which they intended to offer. These people were always odious to the English; but more especially at this time, when the zeal of Christians was inflamed to a degree of enthusiasm, by the preaching of monks, in favour of the crusade. Whether it was that Richard hated the Jews, or apprehended that their appearance at the coronation might occasion a tumult, or, what is most probable, that he only intended to prevent a crowd (for which purpose he likewise prohibited all women from appearing at the solemnity) he had issued a proclamation, forbidding all Jews to enter the church during the coronation-service, or intrude into the palace while he should be at dinner.

This restraint served only to encrease their curiosity. Some of the most considerable Hebrews

“laity, took a three-fold oath, &c.” From whence it would appear, that kings in those days were not considered as completely kings, till once they were actually crowned, though the custom be now altered,
R. de Diceto.

brews mixed with the crowd, and one of them in particular endeavoured to force his way into the palace; but he was soon detected and repelled by a Christian, who upbraided him with his insolence in daring to break the king's proclamation. This was a signal sufficient to the mob, who immediately attacked the Jews with clubs and stones, and obliged them to consult their safety by a precipitate flight, though not till several of them had been trodden under foot and slain in the scuffle.

A false report was presently propagated by some malicious incendiary, that the king had ordered the Jews to be exterminated. The populace of London, either believing or affecting to believe this improbable story, instantly took to arms, and, prompted alike by cruelty and avarice, besieged the merchants of that nation in their houses, after they had murdered all the Israelites that fell in their way. The mob finding it impossible to force the strong houses to which the Jews had retired, set them on fire; and the flames communicating with the adjacent buildings, a general conflagration ensued, so that numbers of people were burnt in their houses; and such of the Jews as attempted to escape, were cruelly butchered by the barbarous multitude.

Richard

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Richard being informed of this disturbance, sent Ralph de Glanville, the chief justiciary, and other noblemen, to quell the tumult and prevent further mischief; but all their endeavours were in vain; they were glad to fly for the safety of their own lives; and the rabble continued to plunder Christians as well as Jews, till they began to quarrel among themselves about the division of the spoil; when, the morning now approaching, they thought proper to disperse.

Such a sedition could be considered in no other light, than as a cruel insult upon the authority of the king in the very beginning of his reign, and therefore deserved a severe correction; but as some of the best families in the city were supposed to be concerned in the riot, there seemed to be as much danger in punishing all the offenders, as in suffering them to escape with impunity. Richard took a middle course. He caused some of the ring-leaders, and the most notorious malefactors, to be apprehended, tried, and executed; and then published a proclamation, forbidding all such tumults for the future, and taking the Jews under his protection.

Notwithstanding this precaution, the Jews were afterwards massacred at Norwich, Stamford, St. Edmundsbury, Lincoln, Lynn, and
York,

York, in the last of which places about five hundred men, besides women and children, having prevailed upon the governour to admit them into the castle, in order to avoid the fury of the mob, the high slieriff came and required them to deliver it up; but they refusing to comply, the people drew up in a body, and attacked the castle. At last the Jews offered a large sum of money, on condition that they should be allowed to escape with their lives; but the rabble absolutely refused to give them quarter. Upon this, an ancient rabbin proposed that they should kill each other, rather than fall into the hands of the uncircumcised Christians. This proposal was unanimously approved, and immediately put in execution; every master of a family, having first cut the throats of his wife, children, and servants, concluded the tragedy by the slaughter of himself. Is it not strange, that some of our monkish writers have not only excused, but even applauded this instance of barbarity; because, forsooth, it tended to destroy the enemies of the Christian faith? Such are the blessed effects of misguided zeal! or rather to such cruel and inhuman purposes, has the sacred institution of Christianity (which in itself is all mercy and love) been applied by wicked and designing hypocrites!

But

But it soon appeared, that these barbarities were rather owing to avarice than religious zeal. Several gentlemen of York, who were greatly indebted to the Jews, were deeply concerned in the massacre perpetrated in that city; and, as soon as the tumult ceased, they went to the cathedral where their bonds were lodged, extorted them by force from the officers to whose care they had been committed, and burned them in the church with great solemnity. Richard, incensed at this act of violence, which was not only an insult upon his authority, but likewise an invasion of his property, as all the personal estates of usurers deceased belonged to the crown, ordered the bishop of Ely, at that time justiciary of the realm, to inflict severe punishments upon the guilty. The bishop accordingly repaired to York, in order to execute his master's commands; but, on his arrival, he found that the principal offenders had fled into Scotland; and the citizens of York protesting that they were neither concerned in the massacre, nor able to stop the fury of the rabble, the prelate contented himself with depriving the high sheriff and the governor of their offices, and levying fines upon the richest of the inhabitants, without putting any person to death on the occasion.

Soon

Soon after his coronation, Richard convoked an assembly of his prelates and nobility at Pupewell in Northamptonshire, where he filled up the vacant sees of London, Winchester, Sarum, and Ely; the first with Godfrey de Lucy, archdeacon of York; the second with Reginald Nigel, archdeacon of Ely; the third with Hubert Walter, dean of York; and the fourth with William Longchamp, a Frenchman of mean extraction.

He then began to turn his thoughts towards his expedition to Palestine, and the means of raising the money necessary for that purpose. He had, upon the death of Geoffrey Ridel, the late bishop of Ely, who died intestate, seized all his effects, amounting to three thousand marks of silver, and two hundred of gold, besides plate and jewels. He found in his father's treasury not less than nine hundred thousand pounds. The earldom of Northumberland he sold to Hugh, bishop of Durham, for his natural life, and the honour of Sadberg to him and his successors in that see, for ever. He exposed to sale the offices of high-sheriffs, keepers of forests, and all other posts and dignities. He received two hundred marks from the barons of Bedfordshire, and as much from the knights of Surrey for disforesting some parts
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of their counties, which had been converted into forest-ground by Henry I. The manor of Mildenhall was sold to the abbot of St. Edmundsbury for a thousand marks, as were the manors of Menes and Weregrave, to the bishop of Winchester for six hundred. In a word, Richard disposed of liberties, charters, castles and manors of the crown with such a lavishing and unsparing hand, as if he had never intended to return to England; and when some of his friends took the liberty of representing to him the bad effects of such alienations, he cut them short with this reply, "I would sell the city of London itself," "could I find a purchaser." Ralph de Glanville, justiciary of the realm, and a man of great integrity and abilities, finding Richard deaf to all his remonstrances, resigned his post, and engaged in the crusade. He was succeeded in his office by Hugh, bishop of Durham, and William de Mandeville, earl of Essex and Aumale, the former of whom gave a thousand marks for this employment, and the latter died soon after in Normandy. By these, and the like, means, the king raised a greater sum of money than any of his predecessors had ever possessed.

But he had still another expedient in reserve. He obtained a bull from pope Clement,

ment, empowering him to excuse from the crusade such as had taken the cross, and were judged necessary to be left at home for the defence of the kingdom; and many of those, who, in the first transport of their zeal, had taken an oath to go to Jerusalem, were now glad to procure an absolution by paying a considerable sum of money.

While Richard was thus employed in making preparations for his voyage, Rotrou, count of Perche, and other ambassadors, came over to England to acquaint him with the resolution of the king of France and his barons, who, in a general council held at Paris, had sworn to meet at Vezelay, by the close of the ensuing Easter, at which time and place they summoned Richard and his people to attend, that the two kings might set out together on the crusade. Upon this the king convoked a general assembly of his prelates and nobility at London, and as Philip had declared his resolution in an instrument, to the performance of which Rotrou swore in his name, he had drawn up the like engagement in writing, and the earl of Essex swore for him that he would be at the place of rendezvous in due time.

Richard having now made the necessary preparations for his intended expedition, re-

solved to take such measures, as might secure the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom, during his absence. The Welch, upon the death of the late king, had begun to infest the English borders. Rесе ap Grifith, prince of South-Wales, had taken the castles of Tenby, S. Clair Abercorran, and Lanstephan, and over-run the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen. Conscious, however, of his own weakness, and dreading the just resentment of the English monarch, he had obtained a safe conduct from prince John, and repaired to the king's court at Oxford, in order to make his submission; but Richard, incensed at his perfidy and baseness, in invading the English territories during the late inter-regnum, in violation of the most express treaties, refused to see him, and he returned to his own country, fired with indignation and meditating revenge. To prevent the hostile designs of this prince, John was ordered to march into Wales with a strong body of forces; and to defray the expence of the expedition, a scutage, at the rate of ten shillings a knight's fee, was levied throughout all England.

There was still another quarter from which Richard had reason to expect danger. The archbishops of Canterbury, in consequence of their character of primates of

of England, had always great influence with the body of the people; and the monks of Christ-church in Canterbury, who had long claimed and exercised the right of chusing the archbishops, had frequently intruded into that see persons by no means favourably disposed to the civil authority. To humble the pride of these monks, the late king and archbishop Baldwin had formed a scheme for lessening their power, by founding a society of secular canons, and erecting a college for them in St. Stephen's church-yard at Hakington in the neighbourhood of Canterbury. It was to consist of twenty canonries, one of which was to be founded by the king, and the rest by the suffragans of the province; the vacancies were to be filled up by the respective founders; and the archbishop was to bear the expences of building the church and college. The secret design of this project was, to transfer the right of chusing the archbishops from the monks of Christ-church to the members of this society; for as it was probable that the canons would be influenced by their patrons, the power of electing the primate would, by that means, be restored to the suffragans of the province, to whom it originally belonged. To give the better colour to this pretext, the foundation was

said to be in honour of Becket, and as the king consented to pay the pension of a canonry, this sum was represented as a perpetual penance upon the crown for the murder of that prelate.

The pope, deceived by these appearances, had empowered Baldwin to carry the scheme into execution; in consequence of which, the work was immediately begun and prosecuted with great expedition, and several estates were actually appropriated for the maintenance of the canons, before the monks discovered the real design of the undertaking. This, however, they no sooner learned, than they made heavy complaints to the court of Rome, of the injury intended to be done to their order; and the pope, influenced by their representations, heartily espoused their cause, and sent the cardinal Anagni as his legate *a latere* to examine the matter, and put an end to the controversy; but Richard, unwilling to see such an instance of papal authority exercised in his dominions, prevailed upon the complainants to refer the dispute to his decision. Accordingly he repaired to Canterbury, with a vast number of his prelates and nobility, and, by their advice, decreed that the new foundation should be demolished: then the cardinal Anagni, who had been detained near
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a fortnight at Dover by the king's express order, was invited to Canterbury, where he was treated with great respect, but was not allowed to exercise any part of his legatine authority, except in removing the interdict, which archbishop Baldwin had laid upon the lands of prince John, when he married the heiress of Gloucester.

While Richard was at Canterbury he received a visit from William, king of Scotland, who was escorted from the Tweed by Geoffry, archbishop of York, the high-sheriff and barons of that county, and by his own brother David, earl of Huntington. William, taking advantage of Richard's impatience to proceed on the expedition to Palestine, and his eager desire of amassing money for that purpose, presented him with ten thousand marks sterling, in consideration of his restoring the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, renouncing the superiority of the kingdom of Scotland, delivering up the instrument which contained the submission of him and his barons, and receiving his homage for the northern counties in the same manner, as it had been paid by his predecessor Malcolm.

Richard, having taken these necessary measures for securing his dominions against
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attempts of his enemies, resolved to provide for the internal government of the realm during his absence. With this view he bestowed the guardianship of the kingdom upon William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, and with him joined the bishop of Durham, as justiciary of the northern counties. To the former he gave the custody of the tower of London; to the latter the castle and forest of Windsor; and Hugh Bardolf, William Mareschal, Geoffry Fitzpiers, and William Briwere were appointed their counsellors to assist them in the administration of justice.

Every thing being now ready for the intended expedition, Richard, accompanied by the cardinal Anagni, set sail from Dover on the 11th of December, and landed the same day near Gravelines, where he was met by the count of Flanders, who attended him into Normandy. No sooner was he arrived in that country, than he had recourse to an artifice which must have exposed his character to the imputation of avarice, were it not well known that the profusion with which he squandered his money, was equal to the eagerness with which he procured it. He pretended to have lost the great seal, and ordered a new one to be made; at the same time he issued a proclamation, declaring that no credit should
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be given to any deed, grant, or instrument, until it should receive the sanction of this new seal, by which means he amassed an immense sum of money. Nor was this all: he directed the bishop of Ely, who had been lately vested with the legatine authority in England, Wales, and Ireland, to oblige every abbey and manor of the crown, to furnish one palfrey and sumpter-horse, and every city in the kingdom, to give double the number for the expedition.

The rendezvous had been originally fixed for the latter end of March, but was afterwards deferred till Midsummer, on account of the death of the queen of France. In the mean time, the two kings, attended by their prelates, earls, and barons, had a conference at Gué S. Remi, where they mutually swore to maintain peace, and defend each others dominions; and if either of the princes should happen to die in the course of the voyage, the other was to succeed to the command of the united armies, in order to finish the expedition.

Richard, who was still apprehensive of some disturbances during his absence, sent for his mother Eleanor from England, together with Adalais of France, his brother John, the two archbishops, and all the other prelates, and in their presence exacted

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acted an oath of John, and Geoffry archbishop of York, that they would not set foot on English ground for three years, by the end of which term he proposed to return from the crusade; but in compliance with his mother's request, he soon after released them from this obligation.

He had formerly given orders for equipping a powerful fleet, supplied with all manner of provisions, and he now directed it to sail to Marseilles, where he proposed to embark his forces. As during the course of the voyage he must necessarily be confined to one ship, and of consequence could not exercise his authority with the same facility and expedition as on land, he enacted a body of laws for the prevention of quarrels and bloodshed on board the fleet, and appointed five justiciaries to put them in execution.*

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* These regulations were; that if any one killed a man on board, he was to be tied to the corpse and flung into the sea: if any one was convicted to have drawn his dagger or knife to wound another, he was to lose his hand: if any one struck another with his hand, without effusion of blood, he was to be ducked thrice over head and ears in the sea; if any one gave his companion opprobrious language, he was for every offence to pay him so many ounces of silver: and if a man stole any thing, his head was to be shaved, boiling pitch was to be poured upon it, and feathers stuck
into

The time of the rendezvous now approaching, Richard received the scrip and staff, the usual badges of pilgrims, from the archbishop of Tours, and advanced to Vezelay, where he was joined by the king of France. Their forces, when united, formed an army of no less than one hundred thousand men, at the head of which the two kings set out for Lyons; but finding it impracticable for such an immense body to march together, they parted at this city; Philip going directly to Genoa, and Richard taking the route to Marseilles. Here he found a great number of pilgrims, who having long waited for a passage to Palestine, and spent all their money, made him an offer of their service, which was readily accepted. After having exhausted his patience in waiting a whole week for the arrival of his fleet,* he at last hired three large busses and twenty armed gallies, on board of which he embarked his household troops, and set sail for Sicily; but putting in at Salerno, he staid in that place until he heard

into the pitch, that so he might be known; and the first land the ship made, he was to be set on shore. *Hoved. M. Paris.*

* It was dispersed by a violent storm, and part of it driven upon the coast of Portugal; the king of which country made use of the assistance of the English in relieving the city of Santarin, at that time besieged by the miramolin or emperor of Africa. *Brompt.*

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heard that his fleet was arrived in the harbour of Messina. Thither he immediately followed it; and finding the town already crowded with the French troops, he took up his quarters in the suburbs.

As Richard's stay in this island gave occasion to some remarkable events, it may not be amiss to point out the origin from whence they sprung. Roger, king of Sicily, left issue William, surnamed the bad, and Constantia, a nun at Palermo. William the bad was succeeded by William the good, who married Jane of England, sister to Richard, and died without heirs. Upon his death, Clement III. who then filled the papal chair, laid claim to the kingdom of Sicily, as a fief of the church. Mean while Tancred, a natural son of Roger, was elected king by the Sicilians, who wanted a prince to head them in opposing the incursions of the Saracens, who were possessed of part of the island. Pope Celestine III. who succeeded Clement, kept up the same pretensions to the island of Sicily, and, treating Tancred as an usurper, resolved to exert his utmost efforts in depriving him of the crown. Conscious, however, of his own inability to execute such an arduous undertaking, he applied to Henry IV. emperor of Germany, to whom he gave the kingdom of Sicily, provided he could conquer it from Tancred.

Tancred. To confirm his gift by an appearance of right, he ordered the princess Constantia to be taken out of the nunnery of Palermo, and gave her in marriage to the emperor, though she was then fifty years old. Notwithstanding this circumstance, she actually proved with child in the fifty-second year of her age, and, in order to remove all suspicion of deceit, she was publickly delivered of a son, named Frederick.

The queen dowager of Sicily having been deeply concerned in the whole of this transaction, Tancred had committed her to prison, where she remained till Richard's arrival in the island, when she was set at liberty and sent to the king her brother. But Richard was not contented with so slight a satisfaction. He demanded of Tancred the dowry assigned his sister by William II. her husband; and threatened, in case of refusal, to make good his demand by force of arms. With this view he seized two strong castles situated on the Fare, one of which he allotted for the accommodation of his sister and her retinue, and converted the other into a magazine for the maintenance of his forces.

Tancred, alarmed at these proceedings, employed every art to create uneasiness to Richard. At his instigation, the citizens of Messina took occasion to quarrel with the English,

English, expelled such of them as happened to be in the city, shut their gates, lined their walls with armed men, and set Richard at defiance. Next day, as Richard was preparing to revenge the insult, the king of France, accompanied by his own prelates and nobility and those of the island, repaired to his quarters in order to compromise the quarrel; but while they were deliberating on the subject, the Messenians sallied out of the town, with an intention to surprise him, killed a number of his men and horses, and attacked the quarters of Hugh le Brun with great impetuosity. Richard, enraged at this instance of perfidy and cowardice, snatched up his arms, and, putting himself at the head of his men, not only repulsed the citizens to the gates, but assaulted the town with such incredible fury, that, notwithstanding the resistance of the inhabitants and the French troops, the place was taken by storm, and the standard of England displayed upon the bulwarks.

The conduct of Philip, on this occasion, was altogether unjustifiable. Having entered the city a little before the attack, he had exerted his utmost efforts in the defence of the place, and had actually shot three English soldiers with a cross-bow from the walls; but with that address which was so peculiar to his character, he resolved to be
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beforehand with Richard in his complaints, and therefore pretended that the assault was a high affront offered to his dignity.

Though Richard entertained a hearty contempt for the hypocrisy and dissimulation of his French ally, and scorned to cringe to him or to any man living, yet, in order to manifest his inclination to peace, he quitted the city, and encamped his forces within a fortification, which he had erected in the suburbs. But this condescension was not sufficient to appease the resentment of Philip, who from that time conceived an implacable rancour against the king of England. Conscious, however, of his own inability to contend with Richard by open force, he resolved to proceed by the more secret methods of fraud and treachery, and patiently to wait till a favourable opportunity should offer for the purpose.

Mean while, the two kings agreed in making certain ordinances to be observed by both armies, for the prevention of gaming, clipping money, and dearth of provisions; as also for the supply of wholesome victuals, the regulation of markets, and the reduction of immoderate profit on merchandize. About this time, Richard was seized with a transient fit of devotion, during which he put himself into a course of penance for his sins, and granted a charter to

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his English subjects, resigning the right which the crown had to shipwrecked goods, in favour of the owners or their nearest relations : he likewise indulged his Norman clergy with another charter, exempting them wholly from secular tribunals.

At the time that Messina was taken by the English, no less than an hundred thousand slaves had embraced the opportunity of deserting their masters, and escaping to the mountains, from whence they made incursions over the whole country. Tancred, seeing himself in danger of losing his crown, if not by the arms of Richard, at least by the insurrection of his own subjects, was glad to make up his dispute with the English monarch, and for that purpose repaired to his quarters, when a treaty was concluded on the following conditions ; that he should pay to Richard twenty thousand ounces of gold, in lieu of certain legacies left to Henry of England by the late king William II. and as much to the queen dowager, as an equivalent for her dower ; that he should affiance one of his daughters to young Arthur, duke of Brittany and nephew to Richard, who had declared that prince his heir and successor, if he should happen to die without issue ; and that twenty thousand ounces of gold should be immediately

ately deposited as her portion; which, however, was to be restored, in case the marriage should not take effect.

As for the inhabitants of Messina, who were a faithless, cruel race, descended from Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, he obliged them to pull down their gates, and to deliver hostages for their good behaviour; and, in order to humble their pride, he built a strong castle upon the top of a high mountain that overlooked the city, and commanded the postern gate at which his troops had forced their entrance, distinguishing it by the appellation of Mate-Griffon, or Griffon-Slayer, alluding to the name of Griffons, bestowed as a term of reproach upon the Messenians, as expressive of their spurious origin.

In this castle he kept Christmas-day with great pomp and splendour; and while he was at dinner, in company with Hugh duke of Burgundy and most of the French nobility, he was obliged to rise from table, and quell a tumult, occasioned by a scuffle between some English and Pisan sailors. The quarrel was renewed next day, upon a Pisan's stabbing an Englishman in the church of the knights hospitallers, during the time of divine service. Both parties fought with great fury, and many lives were lost; but the kings of France and England coming

up with their troops, put an end to the combat.

Soon after, there happened a trifling incident, which strongly marks the impetuosity of Richard's temper. One day as he rode out to take the air, attended by a great number of French and English knights, a man with an afs laden with canes chancing to pass, he distributed these among the company, and they began to tilt in the Moorish manner. In the course of this diversion, one William de Barre, a knight of great courage and dexterity, whom Richard had formerly taken in a skirmish near Mante, happened to tear the king's coat; and Richard, provoked at William's presumption, ran at him with great fury; but, instead of unhorsing his antagonist, his own saddle gave way, and he came to the ground; a circumstance that inflamed his resentment to such a degree, that he ordered de Barre to be gone out of his sight, and never appear in his presence again. De Barre was reckoned one of the best knights in France; and at the intercession of Philip and the French nobility, he was permitted to proceed on the expedition, during which he distinguished himself so much by his valour and good conduct, that he effectually recovered the favour of the English monarch.

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Mean while, Philip concealed his resentment with so much art that Richard had no suspicion of his sentiments, but continued to treat him with great confidence and affection. He made him a present of several English ships, as also of half the money he had received in consequence of his treaty with Tancred. He even shared with him the money that was paid for his sister's dower, which could not possibly be reckoned any part of those acquisitions which were to be equally divided between the two kings, in virtue of their original agreement at undertaking the crusade. In a word, he distributed his treasure among the French knights with so much profusion, that he is said to have given away, in the course of a single month, more than any of his predecessors had ever done in a whole year.

But these acts of generosity, while they exalted the glory of the English king, served only to inflame the jealousy and envy of Philip, who basely employed every art, which malice could suggest, or cunning devise, in order to effectuate his ruin. This plainly appeared at an interview, which Richard had soon after with the Sicilian monarch, who treated him with particular marks of honour and respect, and offered him rich presents of gold and silver plate, and horses and apparel. Richard, however, declined accept-

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ing any thing but a small ring, in return for which he presented Tancred with the famous sword of king Arthur, known by the name Caliburne. Tancred was so much charmed with Richard's frank and open demeanour, that he not only furnished him with four large ships and fifteen gallies for the purposes of the expedition, but likewise gave him a letter he had received from the king of France, in which that monarch had endeavoured to persuade him that Richard intended to deprive him of his crown, and therefore advised him to fall upon the king of England, promising, at the same time, to assist him with all his forces. Though Richard entertained but a very bad opinion of Philip, yet he could hardly believe that a sovereign of France could be guilty of such a piece of treachery and falshood. But after having perused the letter, which was sealed with Philip's signet, and Tancred offering to prove that he had received it from the duke of Burgundy, he was no longer allowed to doubt of its authenticity. Richard was as incapable of dissimulation as he was of fraud and cunning; and therefore, upon his return to Messina, he behaved to Philip with such a distant reserve as alarmed the suspicion of the French monarch, who sent the count of Flanders to expostulate with him upon the subject. Richard delivered
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the letter into the hands of the count, desiring him to give it to the king of France, who was confounded and amazed at this detection of his perfidy; though, with that address and effrontery so peculiar to his nation, he soon found out an excuse: he pretended, forsooth, that it was a stratagem contrived by Richard to elude his engagements with Adelais, whom he was bound to marry; and threatened that if he did not fulfil his engagements, he would ever after regard him as his mortal enemy.

These indeed were engagements (if any engagements there were) which Richard never meant to perform; but he scorned to employ any artifice to cover his intentions. He had never been affianced to Adelais, nor ever expressed the least inclination for the match, except when it served to distress his father, and then he had acted in concert with Philip, who probably himself never considered the matter in any other light than as a mere political engine. Richard's heart had been long captivated by the beauty and merit of Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez, king of Navarre; and he had already engaged his mother to make a journey into Guienne, and negotiate a marriage between him and that princess *.

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The offer was too tempting to be rejected, and the contract being presently signed, Eleanor and Berengaria set out for Naples, in their way to which they were joined by the count of Flanders. Richard had sent several gallies to bring them to Messina, but as that place was already too much crouded, he was obliged to dispatch fresh orders for their putting in at Brundisi, whether he forthwith resolved to repair in person. Philip was no stranger to the whole of this transaction, and conscious that Richard was not to be diverted from his purpose, either by open force, or secret artifice, he was glad to conclude a treaty with him on the following terms, viz. that Richard should be released from all pretended engagements to Adelais, and be at liberty to marry whoever he pleased; that Philip should cede Gisors, Nauffle, Neufchatel de S. Denys, and the Vexin Normandy to Richard, and the heirs male of his body; in default of which these places should revert to Philip; and if he should die without male issue, they were to be re-united, with all their dependencies, to the domain of Normandy; that if Richard should have two or more sons, the eldest should hold his foreign dominions of Philip in capite, and another one of the three provinces of Normandy, Anjou,

jon, or Le Maine, or else Guienne and Poitou : that Richard should pay to Philip ten thousand marks of silver, at four different payments, and cede the fiefs of Yssadun and Grassay, with all that was claimed in Auvergne by the king of France, who, on his part, should restore to Richard Cahors and Quercy, except the two royal abbeys of Figeac and Souillac.

The principal hostage given by Philip on this occasion, was William II. count of Ponthieu, who afterwards married Adelaïs of France ; a circumstance which, one should think, is sufficient to wipe off those invidious aspersions thrown on her character by malevolent writers, as it is not likely that William would have married that princess, had she really been guilty of the crimes laid to her charge. After the ratification of the treaty, Philip set sail for Palestine, and was accompanied a considerable way by Richard, who then tacked about to Reggio, from whence he brought his mother and Berengaria to Messina. In a few days after, Eleanor embarked on her return for England ; and the princess of Navarre remained with the queen dowager of Sicily, in order to attend Richard in his voyage.

Every thing being now ready for his departure, he demolished the fort of Mate-Griffon,

Griffon, and sailed from Messina, on the 10th of April, with a hundred and fifty large ships, and fifty-three gallies.

In two days after, the fleet being dispersed in a storm, Richard was obliged to put into the isle of Crete, from whence he sailed to Rhodes; while three of his large ships were thrown on the coast of Cyprus, near Limesol, where two of them were stranded, and Roger, his vice-chancellor, drowned, with several knights and attendants. Such of the unhappy sufferers as reached the shore, were immediately seized, stripped and imprisoned by Isaac the Tyrant, or (as he styled himself) the emperor of Cyprus, who would not suffer the third ship, having the queen of Sicily and Berengaria on board, to enter the harbour. Richard was no sooner informed of their distress, than he advanced to their assistance, and found them lying at anchor before the port, exposed to all the inclemency of the wind and weather. Provoked, as he was, at the barbarity of this inhuman tyrant, he sent a message, demanding his pilgrims, together with all their effects which had been seized; but receiving an insolent answer, he instantly landed his men, attacked and routed the Cypriots, took the town, and brought his ships into the harbour. A second defeat, which
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the enemy sustained next day, determined the fate of the island: all the castles and towns surrendered; and the emperor himself submitted at discretion. Richard, being thus become master of Cyprus, espoused Berengaria, who was crowned the same day by John, bishop of Evreux, assisted by the archbishops of Apamea and Auch, and the bishop of Bayonne. As he was obliged to remain for some time in the island, to settle his new conquest, he dispatched the two queens and the emperor's daughter before him, with the greatest part of his fleet and forces to the siege of Acon, where they arrived on the first of June. He then made a progress through the island, receiving every where the homage of the nobility, and confirming the laws, customs, and privileges of the Cypriots, who, having been grievously oppressed by Isaac, hailed the king of England as their guardian and deliverer. Nor was this all; they even presented him with a moiety of their effects, and promised to supply the Christians in Palestine with plenty of provisions, of which they stood in great need.

Having thus regulated the affairs of Cyprus, he entrusted the government of it to Richard de Camville and Robert de Turnham, and set sail for Acon. In his passage thither, he met a prodigious large ship, fitted

fitted out by Saladine at Barut, commanded by no less than seven admirals, and manned with fifteen hundred choice troops, carrying provisions and ammunition to the garrison of Acon. This ship he attacked and destroyed, and arrived before Acon on the 8th of June, to the great joy of the Christians, and the terror of the besieged, who were overwhelmed with despair at the loss of the vessel, which deprived them of all hopes of receiving any further supplies. Richard's presence infused fresh spirit into the whole army, and the siege was now carried on with redoubled vigour. Philip could not bear to be thus eclipsed by one whom he considered as his vassal, and therefore sought for an occasion of quarrel. The two kings had agreed at Messina to make an equal partition of all their acquisitions in Palestine. Though this agreement did not extend to what captures they might make in their passage, Richard had shared with Philip the booty and prisoners taken in the Carrack. But this act of generosity was not sufficient to satisfy the avarice of the French king; he demanded to be put in possession of one half of the island of Cyprus, and of the riches acquired in that place. With this demand, unreasonable as it was, Richard offered to comply, provided the other would
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act towards him in the same manner with regard to the dominions and effects of the count of Flanders, and the Castellain of St. Omer's, who had both died before the walls of Acon, and whose treasures he had seized for his own advantage.

This proposal Philip did not choose to accept, and therefore dropped his pretensions. The agreement, however, about the acquisitions that should be made in Palestine was renewed, and the knight templars and hospitallers were appointed umpires of the partition. By this time, the garrison of Acon was reduced to the utmost extremity, and Saladine finding it impossible to raise the siege, allowed them to surrender upon the best terms they could procure.

The articles of capitulation were ; that Acon should be delivered up, with five hundred Christian captives that were in the town ; that the true cross of Christ, which had formerly been taken by Saladine, should be restored ; that of all the Christian captives, whom Saladine had taken, three thousand, to be chosen by the two kings, should be delivered ; that the Saracens should carry out nothing with them but their cloaths ; that for the redemption of their heads, they should pay two hundred thousand byzantines ; and that they should remain in custody till the payment of this

sum, in default of which they should be at the mercy of the conquerors. Upon these terms the city was surrendered, and equally divided between the two kings, according to the determination of the arbitrators.

Philip had been extremely desirous of returning home ever since the death of the count of Flanders, in order to take possession of that country, and, perhaps, with a view of invading Normandy during Richard's absence. But as he was either ashamed or afraid to avow his real motives, he pretended that the air of Asia did not agree with his constitution, and therefore entreated Richard to consent to his departure. This proposal was warmly opposed by all the princes of the army, who insisted upon his staying (according to their original agreement) until the crusade should be compleatly finished. But Philip was so importunate in his entreaties, that the king of England granted his request, though not till the other had sworn upon the evangelists, that he would neither invade the territories of Richard during his absence, nor suffer them to be invaded by any power whatever; an oath which he never meant to perform. Having thus obtained permission to depart, and being furnished with two of the best English galleys, he set

set sail from Acon on the 31st of July, leaving his troops under the command of the duke of Burgundy.

Desirous, as he was, of concealing the real motive of his return, and willing to obtain a sanction for those perfidious measures which he intended to carry into execution, he complained to the pope as he passed through Italy, of the arrogant behaviour of Richard, and entreated his holiness to absolve him of his original vow, which he had not performed, as well as of the oath he had sworn to the king of England, that he might revenge himself upon that haughty monarch. The pope gratified him in the first part of his demand; but forbade him to invade the dominions of Richard, on pain of excommunication, a prohibition which he had already resolved to disregard.

Philip's example was followed by a great number of other pilgrims, who daily deserted the common cause, so that the whole charge of the war was devolved upon Richard, who carried it on, notwithstanding the many difficulties in which he was involved. These difficulties were occasioned by a violent contest about the crown of Jerusalem, between Guy de Luzignan, and Conrad, marquis of Montserrat, the former of whom had been in possession of

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that dignity during the life of his wife Sibylla, and the latter claimed it upon her death, in right of his own wife, who was Sibylla's sister. Conrad was violently suspected of carrying on a treacherous correspondence with Saladine, nor durst he stand a trial on that head; but as he was strongly supported by the king of France, an accommodation was effected on the following terms, viz. that Guy should possess the kingdom for life; that the succession should fall to Conrad and his heirs; and that, in the mean time, the revenues should be equally shared between them.

Notwithstanding this agreement, Conrad still continued to correspond with Saladine, and industriously avoided a junction with the king of England, who having repaired the walls and fortifications of Acon, began his march for Joppa, along the sea coast, in order to be the better supplied with provisions from his fleet. Meanwhile, Saladine hovered with his army on the mountains, ready to fall upon him with the first favourable opportunity; and as the Christians were passing a river in the neighbourhood of Cesarea, he actually attacked them; but was entirely routed, with the loss of no less than forty thousand men.

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This victory was chiefly owing to the valour and good conduct of Richard; and Saladine, now almost reduced to despair, ordered Cesarea, Joppa, and Ascalon to be demolished. The king of England having repaired the fortifications of the two first of these towns, and re-peopled them with part of the inhabitants of Acon, began to advance towards Jerusalem, and defeated Saladine again in the plains of Rama. He might even have taken the city of Rama, had he not been diverted from his purpose by the knights templars, who being in the French interest, persuaded him to postpone the attempt, and march towards Ascalon, which he re-fortified at his own expence.

While Richard was thus employed in Palestine, his affairs in England were involved in great confusion, chiefly through the arbitrary and oppressive measures of William, bishop of Ely, whom he had left guardian of the realm. William, instead of co-operating with Hugh, bishop of Durham, his colleague, had arrested the person of that prelate, and obliged him to purchase his liberty by delivering up the castles of Windsor, Newcastle upon Tyne, the manor of Sadberg, with the county of Northumberland, and giving his own sons Henry de Pusey and Gilbert de la Ley as hostages for his quiet submission. Hugh

complained of this treatment in letters to the king, who sent orders to William to restore the places he had wrested from the bishop; but with these orders the chancellor refused to comply, pretending that he understood the king's mind, better than it could be expressed in writing.

Richard now found, by sad experience, that he had placed too great power in the hands of this minion, who exercised his authority with as absolute a sway, as if he had been not only a real king, but even a despotic emperor. Whenever he made a progress through the kingdom, or went to visit religious houses, he was accompanied with a party of fifteen hundred horse and such a retinue of knights, clergy, servants, minstrels, dogs, and horses, that the convent where he lodged, could scarcely, in three years, recover the expences incurred in one night's entertainment. He exposed every thing to sale, in order to reimburse himself in the money he had paid for his posts: he deprived the clergy of their churches, and the laity of their lands and possessions, which he conferred on his own relations and dependants: he disposed of the king's revenue as if it had been his own, squandering it away with the utmost profusion, or else employing it in making purchases for himself; inasmuch

insomuch that he bought every estate that was to be sold; the vacant churches and abbies he either kept for himself, or bestowed upon his creatures, to whom he likewise committed the custody of castles, which he extorted from others by terrour or corruption. All the nobility of the realm cringed to him with the most abject submission, and meanly courted the inglorious distinction of marrying his nieces and relations, though, like himself, sprung from the dregs of the people; and even prince John was treated by him with such indignity, that he was obliged to apply to his brother for redress. In a word, this insolent upstart exercised his civil and ecclesiastical authority with such intolerable pride and arrogance, that he exposed himself to the hatred of the whole nation, who earnestly wished for his speedy ruin.

Richard had received some intimation of these arbitrary proceedings, while he remained at Messina; but instead of stripping the legate of that power which he had so much abused, he contented himself with sending Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and William Mareschal, earl of Strigul, with positive orders to the chancellor, that he should take no step in the administration of the government without their advice,

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vice, and that of the counsellors whom he had appointed before his departure.

Those commissioners, however, were so much intimidated by the unbounded power which the chancellor had assumed, that they were afraid to deliver their instructions ; so that he was allowed to proceed in his rapid career of tyranny and oppression. He deprived Gerard de Camville of the sheriffdom of Lincolnshire, and commanded him to deliver up the castle, of which he was hereditary castellan, in right of his wife Nichola, daughter of Richard de la Haye. Gerard refusing to comply with his demand, the chancellor advanced with a body of troops to reduce it by force ; but before he could accomplish his purpose, he received intelligence of the death of the pope, which put an end to his legatine authority ; and John sent him a message, threatening to attack him at the head of an army, if he would not immediately desist from his undertaking.

These, and several other circumstances, concurred to humble his pride, and to make him listen with greater readiness to the proposal of an accommodation, which, by the mediation of the barons, was at last effected on the following condition, viz. that William should retain the castles and the administration,

nistration, but, in case the king should die without issue, they were to be delivered to John, as his successor; and this article was ratified by the oaths of all the prelates and nobility.

But an incident which happened soon after, effectually served to annihilate the chancellor's authority. Geoffry, archbishop of York, had obtained leave from the king to return into England; and queen Eleanor, when she left Messina, had received orders from Richard to solicit the pope to confirm Geoffry's election, and give directions for his consecration. The reason of taking of this step was, that Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, who claimed the right of consecrating the archbishop of York, had discharged all his suffragans from performing the office. Celestine had accordingly empowered the archbishop of Tours to consecrate Geoffry, and the abbot of Marmoutier, to invest him with the pall; at the same time he received a bull of privilege, exempting his province from the jurisdiction of all legates, except such as were sent by the pope *a latere*.

Thus confirmed, Geoffry set out for England, in order to take possession of his see, the temporalities of which had been greatly embezzled by the chancellor. Longchamp had formerly been retained in Geoffry's service, and was bound to him by an oath of
homage

homage and fealty ; and such was Geoffry's regard for this prelate, that he had actually appointed him his official in the archdeaconry of Rouen, contrary to the inclination of his father Henry, who always considered him as a perfidious traitor. Geoffry proposed to embark at Witsand ; but, when he came to the castle of Guisnes, he found that the countess of Flanders had, at the instigation of Longchamp, given orders to prevent his passage.

As this restriction did not extend to his attendants, they went over in a Boulogne ship ; and he himself going privately on board of a small English vessel, landed at Dover, where Matthew de Clare, governor of the castle, and brother-in-law to the chancellor, immediately took him into custody. From this confinement, however, he found means to escape, and fled for refuge to the church of St. Martin, a privileged place belonging to the monks of Canterbury. But he was presently invested by a body of Brabantins, who, after endeavouring to starve him into a surrender, at last dragged him in his pontificals from the altar, and recommitted him to the castle of Dover : his attendants being plundered, and his horses sent to the chancellor.

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Such a cruel and barbarous insult, offered to the person of an archbishop, the king's natural brother, and universally beloved by the people, excited a general clamour thro' the whole nation. The bishop of Lincoln excommunicated all those who were concerned in the outrage; a sentence which was afterwards confirmed by all the rest of the prelates. The bishops of London, Coventry, and Norwich, threatened to lay the kingdom under an interdict, if he were longer detained in prison; so that Longchamp was obliged to set him at liberty, and allow him to repair to Reading, where prince John, count of Mortaign, who had espoused the cause of his brother Geoffry, had convoked a general assembly.

In this meeting, the king's letters, appointing Walter, archbishop of Rouen, to superintend the election for filling up the see of Canterbury, and with his colleagues to assist the chancellor in the administration of the government, were publickly read. It was likewise unanimously agreed, that as Longchamp had acted without the concurrence of his colleagues, to the grievous oppression of the subjects, he should be deposed from the government according to the tenour of the king's letters, which were produced; and William, who then resided at Windsor, was summoned to meet them
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next day at Lodbridge, between that place and Reading.

William promised to obey the summons, and had actually proceeded two miles with an armed force in his way to the place of rendezvous, but his heart beginning to fail him, he fled precipitately to London, and shut himself up in the Tower. This place he had fortified with a deep ditch, into which he had drawn the water of the Thames; but being invested by the nobility and citizens, before he had time to lay in a sufficient store of provisions, he was soon obliged to surrender. Next day he appeared in the assembly of the prelates and barons, who, after a full hearing, deprived him of his posts and castles, except those of Dover, Cambridge, and Hereford, which he possessed before the king's departure.

The office of chancellor was conferred upon the archbishop of Rouën, who was a man of integrity and abilities, and took no step of importance without the advice and concurrence of his colleagues. Longchamp retiring to Dover, endeavoured to make his escape beyond sea, in a woman's dress; but being discovered by his awkward figure, and his ignorance of the English language, he was seized by the populace,

pulace, to whom he was extremely odious, and imprisoned in a dark cellar.* The reason of his attempting to escape in such a clandestine manner, was, that he had promised not to leave the kingdom until he had delivered up his castles, with which he was very unwilling to part. The archbishop of Rouen commiserating his case, and fearing the castles, if taken from him, might fall into the hands of prince John, sent an order to release him, with a liberty of quitting the realm; in consequence of which, he crossed over to Normandy, where he was treated as an excommunicated person, divine service ceasing in every place through which he passed.

Longchamp's first care, after his arrival on the continent, was to solicit Celestine to renew his legation, which had ceased upon

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* As he was sitting on a rock, waiting for a boat, with an ell in his hand and a parcel of linnen, a sailor came up and offered to kiss him; but proceeding to farther indecencies, he soon discovered his mistake, and therefore marched off without troubling his head any more about the matter. Soon after, some women passing by, began to cheapen his linnen; but, unluckily, Longchamp, who was a Frenchman, and did not understand English, could make them no answer. Upon this, they pulled up the hood which covered his face, and, observing his black beard, called out to the populace, who immediately seized him, and treated him with great indignity. *Hoved. p. 400.*

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the death of the late pope. He likewise complained, in letters to his holiness and the king, that he had been turned out of the administration by the faction of John count of Mortaign, who had a design upon the crown. Celestine, giving credit to his information, appointed him legate of England, and wrote to the bishops of the realm, to excommunicate the count, and all that were concerned in the privation of the chancellor.

William sent over the pope's mandates to Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, with orders to put them in execution; but neither Hugh, nor any of the other prelates, would venture upon such a dangerous measure. On the contrary, the justiciaries seized all the rents of the see of Ely, in order to make satisfaction to the king for two years royal revenue which he had embezzled.

Longchamp finding his mandates slighted, and imagining that this was owing to a maxim in law, by which a prelate cannot exercise any authority till once he has been in his province, resolved to go over to England himself, and exert his legatine power in person. With this view, he had purchased the favour of prince John, by a handsome present; and accordingly embarking without loss of time, he landed on the first of April at Dover, from whence he sent messengers

sengers to the queen mother, to notify his legation and arrival.*

A council of the prelates and nobility was held on the occasion; and though John discovered such a partiality to the legate, as subjected him to a severe reprimand from his mother; yet, being gratified with a subsidy of two thousand marks from the Exchequer, he altered his opinion; and it was unanimously agreed, that an appeal should be made to the pope, against the legation of Longchamp, who, being declared a disturber of the peace, and a public enemy, was forthwith ordered to quit the realm. The legate, mortified at this repulse, wrecked his vengeance on his own diocese, which he laid under an interdict, and then returned into Normandy, where he employed every art to inflame the pope, and the king of France, against the English nation.

Philip had no need of being instigated to a project which he had already formed, and in part attempted. Soon after his arrival from Palestine, he had invited William Fitzralph, seneschal of Normandy, and the prelates and nobility of that duchy, to a conference, in which he demanded his sister Adelais, with the castle of Gisors, and the counties of Eu and Aumale, pretending that

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these

these places were ceded to him by the treaty of Messina. The Normans refusing to grant his request, as they had no orders on the subject, he threatened to do himself justice by force of arms, and they made preparations for a vigorous defence. Philip, disappointed in this attempt, endeavoured to debauch prince John from his duty; and sent him an invitation to come over to France, offering to give him his sister Adélais in marriage, and to put him in possession of all his brother's dominions on the continent, as soon as the marriage should be solemnized.

John was but too ready to engage in any project to the prejudice of his brother, against whom he was highly incensed, on account of his declaring his nephew Arthur his successor, not only in his treaty with Tancred, but likewise in letters to Longchamp, who had entered into a negotiation with the king of Scotland, in order to secure this succession.

He therefore embraced the proposal of the French monarch, and was on the point of crossing the sea, in order to repair to the place of conference, when his departure was stopped by the remonstrances of his mother, and the menaces of the justiciaries, who threatened to seize all his lands and castles, if he presumed to leave the kingdom.

dom. At the same time, to convince him of the vanity of his project, and what little reason he had to expect any assistance from the body of the nation, a general council of the prelates and nobility was assembled at London, where they renewed their oath of fealty to Richard; a circumstance that entirely extinguished all the flattering hopes which John had conceived.

Both these schemes having proved abortive, Philip resolved to invade Normandy; but his nobility and vassals refused to second him in the attempt, in direct violation of the oath they had taken not to attack the dominions of Richard, during the crusade. The pope had sent Octavian, bishop of Ostia, and Jordano, abbot of Fossanova, as his legates, to compromise the dispute between the archbishop of Rouen, and the bishop of Ely; but the seneschal of Normandy would not suffer them to enter the duchy, which, during the king's pilgrimage, was exempted from all legatine jurisdiction. Octavian, provoked at this repulse, and instigated by the insinuations of Philip, excommunicated the seneschal and all his abettors, and laid the duchy under an interdict; but Jordano refused to join in these censures, for which reason he was expelled from the territo-

ries of France. The pope, however, approved of his conduct, and repealed the sentences, declaring, at the same time, that he would agree to no hostilities against the dominions of Richard, while that prince was so laudably employed in fighting the battles of the Lord.

Mean while, Richard was labouring under many difficulties in Palestine. His army was distressed for want of provisions, while he was busy in repairing the fortifications of Ascalon. The French, instead of co-operating with the English, retired to places of safety, and passed their time in luxury and indolence; Conrad refused to join him with his forces; and continual quarrels were arising between the Pisans and Genoese. Richard having summoned a general council to deliberate on the state of affairs, it was the unanimous opinion of all the members, that no effectual service could be performed against the Saracens, until the dispute between Guy de Lusignan and Conrad should be adjusted, and that could not be done by any other means than Conrad's elevation to the throne of Jerusalem. But as it could not be expected that Guy would resign his kingdom without an equivalent, Richard generously presented him with the crown of Cyprus, which was enjoyed by his descendants,

scendants, till the year one thousand four hundred seventy-two, when it was sold by the widow of the last male issue of his line, to the state of Venice.

Conrad, transported with his good fortune, was preparing to set out for Ascalon, in order to join the croissés, when he was stabbed in the streets of Tyre by two assassins, who, to execute their design with the greater ease, had insinuated themselves into his service. They were subjects of a Saracen prince, who possessed a small territory in the mountains of Phenicia, or perhaps Armenia Minor, and was commonly known by the name of the Sheic, or the Old Man of the Mountain.

He seems to have been abbot, or superior of a conventual society, the members of which he stiled Brethren, or Friars, and instructed in various branches of learning, particularly in the knowledge of tongues, that they might be the better able to execute his orders, which it was their first principle implicitly to obey. Unable, as he was, to defend himself against the attacks of his more powerful neighbours by open force, he conceived an effectual method to revenge the injuries he should sustain.

He always kept a band of desperate enthusiasts, who were ever ready to execute his

his injunctions, even at the risk of their lives, being fully convinced, that should they die in the execution of his orders, they would enjoy immortal pleasures in a future state. These he dispatched occasionally to murder those princes who had done him wrong; and they hardly ever failed of attaining their end; so that all the potentates of that part of Asia, were afraid of giving offence to the lord of the mountain.

One of his subjects being driven by a storm into the harbour of Tyre, was plundered and killed by order of Conrad. The Sheic sending messengers to demand restitution of the money, and satisfaction for the death of the deceased, Conrad laid the blame upon Reginald, lord of Sidon; but this charge appearing to be false, and the Sheic being certainly informed that Conrad was the authour of the murder, he sent another messenger to demand redress.

Conrad, provoked at the insolence of the old man, as he conceived it, was with great difficulty restrained from throwing the messenger into the sea; and the Sheic finding it impossible to obtain satisfaction, dispatched the two assassins to murder the offender. Being apprehended and examined, they acknowledged the fact, which they said they had committed in obedience to the command

mand of their master, who afterwards sent a letter * to the European princes, explaining

* This letter it may not be improper to subjoin, as it serves at once to vindicate the character of Richard, and to shew the openness and sincerity of the Shieic, and his determined resolution to be revenged of his enemy.

" To Leopold, duke of Austria, the ancient of the mountains wisheth health. As many kings and princes beyond seas, have blamed Richard, king of England, as being accessary to the death of the marquis of Montferrat, I swear by the eternal God; and by the law which we hold, that he is entirely innocent of the death of that nobleman, which happened in the following manner.

" One of our brethren being driven by a storm into Tyre, was seized, plundered, and killed by the order of Conrad. Upon this we sent ambassadors to the marquis, demanding the money of our brother, and satisfaction for his death, the blame of which he laid upon Reginald, prince of Sidon. But as we were certainly informed that Conrad himself was the authour of the murder, we sent another ambassador, called Eurifus, whom he was going to throw into the sea. Eurifus, however, found means to escape from Tyre, and, returning home, gave us an account of the cruel treatment he had received. From that moment we determined to kill the marquis, and for that purpose sent two of our brethren to Tyre, who killed him openly in the sight of almost all the people in the city.

" Such were our motives for putting the marquis to death; and we assure you with great truth, that Richard was no ways blameable for the death of the marquis; and that those who have blamed him

" for

ing and justifying his conduct, and acquitting Richard from the guilt of this murder, which

“ for that action, have done it without justice and without reason.

“ Be assured that we kill no man for hire or reward, unless he first injure us.

“ And know that these our letters are dated from our house in the castle of Meffiat, about the middle of September, in the fifth year of pope Alexander.”

Hemingsford, chap. LX. informs us that the French king very artfully made use of this circumstance to palliate the animosity he bore against Richard. According to our authour, he never went abroad, after the death of the marquis, without a strong guard; and this occasioning some speculation among his subjects, he took advantage of their surprize to inflame them against the English. In an assembly he told the Parisians, that no one need wonder at his being more cautious than usual in the preservation of his life, when Richard, whom he called by no better name than a perfidious villain, was laying plots against his life, and had lately hired assassins to destroy the marquis. At the same time he produced some letters, which he pretended to have been sent him by different persons, who warned him to be upon his guard. His address to the assembly operated differently on the auditors; his creatures echoed every period of his speech, and applauded his intention to stand upon his guard, and his resolution to avenge himself upon his enemy: but the more moderate, though they could not but praise his caution, dissuaded him from entering into any hostile measures against Richard, as a step that was at that instant too premature. Our authour's own words, as they set this affair in a clearer light than other historians,

which had been imputed to him by Philip and his other enemies.

Conrad was succeeded on the throne of Jerusalem by Henry, count of Champagne, who married his widow, and persuaded the French to march to the assistance of Richard, who in the mean time had reduced the fortrefs of Darum, in the plains of Palestine. Thus re-inforced, Richard resolved to advance

forians, and are at the same time a proof of the authenticity of our narrative, cannot be unacceptable to the learned reader. "Rex Franciæ, hoc audito, quod Marchioni acciderat, ex tunc non, nisi stipatus armatis, processit in publicum, mirantibus vero suis hanc novitatem regiam, ut eis in hoc satisfaceret, et gentem suam in regem Anglorum accenderet, convocato Parisiis concilio, sic eos allocutus est.—— Nempe mirari debet, quod præter solitum morem, diligentiores mei ipsius custodiam adhibeam, cum manifestus ille proditor Richardus, animæ meæ insidians, jam per sicarios suos illum nobilem marchionem interemit.——Et subintulit, ecce enim hic litteræ a diversis personis mihi super hoc directæ, et in hoc facto quod mihi caveam, et diligenti cura provideam. Adjecitque cordi sibi esse, belle se quidem vindicare de hujusmodi proditore.——Ad hæc autem respondentibus quibusdam, et adulatorie dicentibus bonum honestumque esse, et quod pro cautela faciebat, et quod pro ultione disponebat; prudentiores tamen sic respondentes intulerunt.——Cautelam tuam, O rex, qua tibi contra incertos casus forte abundantius prospicis, non culpamus; præmatutæ vero ultionis propositum minime approbamus."

Hemingford, cap. lx.

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vance to the siege of Jerusalem; but when they approached the city, the attempt was judged impracticable, from the difficulty of being supplied with provisions; and the duke of Burgundy (who is said to have received orders from Philip to obstruct the success of Richard's arms) retired with his forces to Tyre, in order to embark for Europe.

The English troops were greatly exhausted by continual fatigues and engagements, in which the king had distinguished himself by such prodigious acts of valour, as rendered him the terror and admiration of the enemy. Saladine still hovered on the mountains with a numerous army, ready to fall upon the maritime towns as soon as Richard should quit the country; and accordingly, on his arrival at Acon, he learned that Joppa was taken, and the castle reduced to extremity. This intelligence he no sooner received, than ordering his forces to march by land, he sailed thither in person with a handful of men, and raised the siege by the terror of his name, and by a series of daring exploits, in which he exposed himself to the most imminent danger.

About this time he received expresses from the regency of England, pressing him to return home, in order to save his kingdom from the terrible calamities in which it
was

was likely to be involved, by the perfidious schemes of prince John and Philip. Sensible, however, that the Christians, when deprived of his assistance, would be altogether unable to make head against the Saracens, he thought it most adviseable to conclude a truce with Saladine for three years on the following conditions; viz. that Ascalon should be demolished, that the Christians should fortify Joppa, and inhabit all the places on the sea-coast; and that the Saracens should remain in possession of the hilly country.

These articles being ratified and confirmed, Richard set sail from Acon on the ninth of October; and as he could not, with any safety, pass through France, or the territories of the count of Thoulouse, he directed his course to Ragusa, intending to travel from thence incognito through Germany. But he was discovered in a village, near Vienna, by Leopold, duke of Austria, who ordered him to be seized, and loaded with shackles, to the misfortune of the unhappy prince, and to the eternal reproach and disgrace of his own name.

Leopold pretended that he took this ungenerous step, in order to revenge an affront he had recived from Richard at the siege of Acon; though it was more probable, that it was with a view of extort-

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ing an exorbitant sum of money as a ransom for his royal captive, as he stipulated for the payment of fifty thousand marks, when he delivered him to the emperor, Henry VI. of Germany. Henry considered Richard as his enemy ever since the treaty which the latter had concluded with Tancred, by the contract of marriage between his nephew Arthur and the daughter of that prince, whose crown the emperor claimed in right of his wife Constance. For this reason Henry received his royal prisoner with a transport of joy, and immediately transmitted an account of the matter to the king of France, who exerted his utmost endeavours, in order to turn this event to his own advantage *.

He forthwith dispatched a messenger to the count of Mortaign, to assure him that his brother would never be released from his captivity, offering him his sister Adalais in marriage, with all Richard's dominions on the continent, and promising to assist him with all his might in placing him on the throne of England. He likewise sent ambassadors to Canute V. king of Denmark, to demand his sister Ingeburga in marriage, desiring no other fortune with her than an assignment of the Danish claim to England, and the assist-

ance

* A. D. 1193.

ance of a fleet and army to effect the conquest of that kingdom.

The princess was accordingly sent into France, with a portion of ten thousand marks, and was married to Philip at Amiens; but that fickle monarch repudiated her the very next day, and afterwards obtained a formal divorce on pretence of consanguinity between her and his former queen. This affront could not fail to detach the Danes from the interest of the French king, who derived no assistance from that quarter; though he succeeded better in his negotiation with the count of Mortaign, who, flushed with the hopes of mounting the throne of England, readily embraced the proposal, and immediately repaired to the continent to confer with Philip on the subject *.

The seneschal and barons of Normandy having no suspicion of his treasonable designs, invited him to a conference at Alençon, to deliberate about his brother's ransom, and the means of defending his dominions; but John telling them that he

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would

* Hemingford authenticates this representation of the treaty between John and this monarch, saying, *Misit etiam rex Franciæ ad Johannem Germanum regis Richardi, ut cum eo fœdus iniret. Qui confestim ad eum veniens, et de ejus auxilio ad regnum Anglicanum aspirans, pepigit cum eo fœdus.* Hemingford's *Cbronicle*, cap. lxiv.

would not concur in any measures against the king of France, unless they would swear fealty to him as their lord and sovereign, they rejected the proposal, and prepared for a vigorous defence of the duchy.

He presently engaged in a treaty with Philip, who agreed to give him his sister Adelaïs in marriage, with the county of Artois, which had lately fallen to the crown of France at the death of the count of Flanders; in return for which, John ceded to him all Normandy north of the Seine, except Rouën and some other places, and did homage for all his brother's foreign dominions. These articles being ratified and confirmed, he returned to England, in order to prosecute his rebellious project, while Philip prepared to invade Normandy.

Though Richard had quitted Palestine, yet as he resolved to return thither after the expiration of the truce with Saladine, he still continued to wear the badge of the crusade, in consequence of which, his dominions were privileged from an invasion. This circumstance had hitherto restrained the French nobility from joining Philip in his hostile designs against Normandy; and that monarch finding them firmly resolved to adhere to the principles of honour and religion, in observing the oath they had taken,

taken, endeavoured to remove their scruples by an artifice, which was as mean as it was successful.

He * affected to be afraid of his person, raised a company of life-guards, armed with brazen maces, and would not suffer any stranger to approach him. While every one was amazed at this sudden alteration in his behaviour, he convoked an assembly of his peers at Paris, and expressed his apprehensions of being assassinated by the emissaries of Richard, whom he represented as the authour of Conrad's death, and who, he affirmed, had sent assassins from the east to treat him in the same manner in the midst of his court at Paris.

The wiser part of the assembly were of opinion that no hostilities should be committed against the dominions of Richard until his return, because a contrary conduct would not only give offence to all Christian powers; but would likewise subject the invader to the censures of the pope. But all those who were either weak enough to believe the story, or wicked enough to approve the contrivance, highly applauded the precaution of their monarch, and de-

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clared

* This artifice we have given a minute detail of in a former note from Hemingsford, who has introduced it with no small propriety in the manner above related.

clared themselves ready to avenge his quarrel; and accordingly he entered Normandy at the head of a numerous army.

But the cruel and the treacherous are never brave. Philip always placed greater dependance upon the arts of bribery and corruption, than upon the real force of his arms. He had debauched some of the barons of Normandy from their allegiance, by which means he made himself master of several places without opposition. Pacey and Ivry submitted without resistance: Gisors, Neaufle and Neufchatel were betrayed into his hands by Gilbert de Vascueil the governour; and the counties of Eu and Aumale were reduced by the same inglorious arts.

Elated with this success, of which he ought rather to have been ashamed, he advanced to Roüen, and summoned the city to surrender, threatening to put all the inhabitants to the sword, if they offered to make resistance. But the citizens of Roüen were not to be intimidated by his empty gasconade: headed and inspired by Robert, earl of Leicester, who had lately returned from Palestine, where he had distinguished himself by the most extraordinary acts of valour, they defended the place with the most undaunted courage, and obliged the enemy to raise the siege, after

after having repulsed them in various assaults.

Baffled in this attempt, he had recourse to his old arts of cunning and deceit. He applied to Henry, emperor of Germany, and offered to bribe him with a large sum of money, if he would deliver Richard into his hands; but however willing Henry might have been to accept the proposal, it was rejected with becoming disdain by all the princes of the empire. The pope, moreover, was so incensed at the perfidious conduct of the French monarch, that he threatened to lay his dominions under an interdict, if he would not immediately withdraw his troops from Normandy; so that Philip was obliged to agree to a truce, on condition of receiving twenty thousand marks, at different payments, to commence from the time of Richard's release; and, in the interim, he put in possession of Driencourt, Arches, Loches, and Chatillon sur Indre, by way of security.

Prince John met with but indifferent success in England, though he had brought over with him a great number of foreigners, and expected a further reinforcement of French and Flemings. * Immediately

* Hemingford's account is this: "In Angliam rediens, congregatis sibi vagis et profugis, castella et loca munita fratris sui quam citius occupavit.
" Regni

diately after his arrival, he seized the castles of Windsor and Wallingford; and repairing from thence to London, he pretended that his brother was dead, and required the archbishop of Rouen, and the other justiciaries, to take the oath of fealty to him, and proceed to his coronation. But the regency refusing to comply with his request, he endeavoured to engage the nobility in his interest, fortified his castles, and wasted his brother's demesnes with great barbarity.

In this career, however, he was not long allowed to proceed. The justiciaries gave orders for several bodies of troops to march down to the sea-side, and secure the ports in such a manner, as to prevent any more foreigners from entering the kingdom. They then raised an army, with which they besieged and took Windsor. Another body was assembled in the north by Geoffrey, archbishop of York, Hugh Bardolf and William D'Estouteville, who fortified

Doncaster :

"Regni vero optimates fide integri, animisque justis
 "infraçti, collecta manu valida, vecordissimi juvenis nefariis ausibus se opposuerunt, et castellum Windeforam, diu et fortiter oppugnantes, ad deditionem coegerunt.
 "Quod cum Johannes videret, et obsessis subvenire non posset, pro eorum salute ad tempus definitum inducias petiit, et castellum resignavit. Et statim transfretavit et ad regem Francorum se contulit, suum contra fratrem indecenter militaturus." *Hemingford Chron. cap. lxiv.*

Doncaster : the castle of Tikehill was on the point of surrendering to Hugh, bishop of Durham ; and John, finding himself unable to oppose the superiour power and influence of the regents, was glad to agree to a truce, on condition that he should retain the castles of Nottingham and Tikehill, and deliver up those of Pec and Wallingford. During this cessation of hostilities, John retired into France, and Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, arriving in England with letters of recommendation from the king, was, by the unanimous suffrages of the bishops and monks, elected archbishop of Canterbury.

This prelate had been with Richard in Palestine ; and, in his return from thence, having heard of his sovereign's captivity in Germany, had paid him a visit, and received a commission from him to repair to England, in order to raise the money necessary for his ransom. Richard had been treated, at first, with great severity ; and as he did not know to what extremities he might be reduced, he had taken the precaution to write to the archbishop of Rouën to obey no orders that should come from him, but such as were consistent with the honour and interest of the kingdom.

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He soon found, however, that the cruel usage he met with was only designed to increase his desire of liberty, and to make him the more willing to comply with any terms that should be demanded. At last, by the mediation of the princes of the empire, his ransom was fixed in the diet of Worms, at one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver; and it was resolved that he should be set at liberty upon paying two thirds of this sum, and giving hostages for the remainder.

In all parts of the world, where the feudal law prevailed, every military tenant was obliged by the grant and tenure of his land, to give an aid for the ransom of his lord from captivity. Accordingly, this scutage was raised in England, at the rate of twenty shillings upon the greater knight's fees, and twelve and six-pence upon those of an inferior kind. The cities too, the burroughs, and manors, belonging to the crown, or in the king's hands by escheat, were obliged to pay a talliage or hydag, which was assessed by the itinerant justices.

Besides these, great sums were raised by the voluntary contributions of the people, who vied with each other in testifying their zeal for the release of their sovereign. The parochial clergy granted one tenth of their
tythes;

tythes; the bishops, abbots, and nobility, gave a fourth of their rents; the Cestertians parted with all their revenue of wool for one year; the parishes melted down their sacred chalices; and the cathedrals and monasteries sold their plate and treasures, to the amount of thirty thousand marks, on a promise of being reimbursed after the king's return. In this manner was the money raised for Richard's ransom; and as the time fixed for the payment of the hundred thousand marks was now approaching, queen Eleanor, and Walter archbishop of Rouen, set out for Germany, leaving Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, as guardian of the realm.

Mean while the king of France was extremely uneasy when he heard of the negotiation for Richard's enlargement, well knowing that, should it take effect, it would effectually blast all his schemes of revenge and ambition. For this reason he had employed every art, in order to prevent the success of the treaty. He proposed an interview with the emperor at Vaucoleurs, where he offered to marry the daughter of his uncle, the count Palatine, and to give him a sum equal to the ransom, if he would detain Richard but for one year more.

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This proposal was so tempting, that Henry would certainly have embraced it, had it not been for the interposition of the princes of the empire, who compelled him to perform the agreement he had already made for the release of the king of England. Accordingly, two thirds of the ransom being paid, and hostages delivered for the security of the rest, Richard was set at liberty on the fourth of February*, in presence of the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, the duke of Austria, and most of the German nobility.

Richard was fully apprized of the secret negotiation that had been carried on between the king of France and the emperor; and as he did not know how soon the latter might be induced to change his mind, he immediately set out for Antwerp, where he had previously ordered some ships to attend him. And well was it for him that he took this precaution; for he was no sooner released from confinement, than the emperor began to repent of his bargain, and sent orders for stopping him at the port of Swyne, where he proposed to embark for England. Richard being informed of his perfidious design, immediately went on board, and, putting to sea with a favourable

* A. D. 1194.

able wind, arrived in safety at Sandwich.

The emperor, vexed at his disappointment, wrecked his vengeance upon the hostages, who were now committed to close custody, and treated with uncommon rigour; and the king of France was so incensed at Richard's escape, that he broke the truce, and, though it was now the middle of winter, invaded Normandy, where he reduced Evreux, and several other castles.

Richard was received in London with great rejoicings, and such an ostentation of wealth as amazed the German noblemen who accompanied him into England, and who could not help declaring, that he would have paid much dearer for his ransom, had the emperor known the affluence of his subjects.

There were very few of the nobility, or bishops, in town; being most employed in reducing the castles of the count of Mortaign and his adherents, the garrisons of which had made incursions over all the adjacent country. Marlborough, Lancaster, and St. Michael's Mount, had been taken; but Nottingham and Tikehill held out till the arrival of the king, who, after reposing himself three days at London, marched to be-

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siege them in person, and the garrisons of both submitted at discretion.

Richard was now sensible of the great error he had committed in bestowing so much power upon his brother, who had ungratefully employed it in raising disturbances in the kingdom. A little before his arrival, John had sent his chaplain, Adam de S. Edmund, into England, with orders to his friends to fortify his castles, and attack his enemies. Adam was so vain of his commission, that he boasted openly of his master's intimacy with Philip, in consequence of which he was apprehended and his papers seized, and by that means all the designs of prince John, and his confederates, were fully detected. A council was immediately assembled, and orders given for besieging his castles, and disseizing him of all his possessions; and the bishops excommunicated him and his adherents.

Richard approved of these measures, and, in order to confirm them by a more solemn sanction, he convoked an assembly of his prelates and nobility at Nottingham, where he desired judgment against John count of Mortaign, and Hugh Nonant bishop of Coventry, one of his abettors. They were both cited to appear within forty days, and stand to the award of the court; and, in

in case of refusal, the judges decreed that John should forfeit all his possessions, and a process be commenced against the bishop, both in the civil and ecclesiastical judicatures.

It was in this council, that every ploughland in the kingdom was charged with two shillings; a tax which some authours call carucage and temantale; but which, in the pipe-rolls, is termed hidage: and the seventeenth of April was fixed for the second coronation of the king at Winchester.

The king pretended that his reason for repeating this ceremony, was to wipe out the stain of his captivity; and indeed, as such a misfortune occasioned an extinction of all civil rights among the ancient Romans, this expedient could not be said to be improper in a country where the civil law prevailed, and had so great an influence on the minds of the people.

But Richard had another end in view; it furnished him with an excellent handle for new modelling the kingdom, repealing the acts, resuming the grants, and annulling the sales and contracts he had made before his departure for Palestine. He alledged, that the purchasers had reaped sufficient profit from their bargains, which tended greatly to the detriment of the crown; and

that subjects ought never to make an advantage of their king's necessities. Nobody durst dispute the justice of this resumption. Hugh, bishop of Durham, resigned the earldom of Northumberland; Godfrey, bishop of Winton, surrendered the sheriffalty of Hampshire, the castle of Winchester, and the two manors he had purchased before the crusade; and their example was followed by all the other purchasers and grantees.

The time of this general resumption was not, surely, a proper season for making demands; yet William, king of Scotland, who attended this grand council of the nation, was so imprudent as to solicit a grant of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, on pretence that these counties had been formerly enjoyed by his ancestors. His petition being refused, he offered fifteen hundred marks for the county of Northumberland alone; and Richard would have embraced the proposal, with a reservation of the castles to himself; but William would not accept it on these terms, and went away dissatisfied, though not before he had obtained a charter, entitling him to a certain sum to defray the expences of his journey, in coming up to attend the great council of the nation.

Richard

Richard having obtained a grant of another year's wool * from the Cestertians, and received considerable sums from York and other cities, as a mark of their joy and congratulation on his return, resolved to visit his foreign dominions, and oppose the progress of the French king, who

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had

* The reason for levying this uncommon tax, and the manner in which the king proposed it to the Cestertians, is thus related by Hemingford. " Rex
" five pro liberandis obsidibus apud imperatorem relic-
" tis; five etiam in sumptus belli cum rege Francorum
" gerendi, tributum minus usitatum universo regno, a
" singulis scilicet carrucatis terræ, indifferentur gemi-
" natum solidum exigens, vacantibus clericorum, reli-
" giosorum, et quorum libet aliorum privilegiis. Abba-
" tibus et Cisterciensis ordinis, qui coram eo præsen-
" tes fuerunt, sic congratulando dixit: Devotionem,
" inquit, vestram et liberalitatem circa nos, qua po-
" tissimum substantiæ vestræ, id est, vellera ovium
" vestrarum redemptioni nostræ impendistis, ut dig-
" num est, approbamus, et uberiores gratiam suo
" tempore rependere cogitamus: ut autem vobis per-
" petuæ simus gratiæ debitores oportet ut adhuc se-
" mel vestrum ad nos declarantes affectum, lanam
" vestram, anni præsentis, nobis non gravemini com-
" modare. Nam cum ab imperatore dimissi in sum-
" ma paupertate ad propria tenderemus, confisi de vo-
" bis, urgente necessitate, lanæ vestræ pretium a trans-
" marinis mercatoribus sumpsimus, quod procul dubio
" ad scaccarium nostrum mense Octobri reddemus vo-
" bis cum gratiarum actione. Hoc modo religiosos
" illos, quasi blandiendo spoliando, clarissimis monaste-
" riis egestatem insolitam irrogavit." *Hemingford.*
Cap. lxxii.

had ravaged his territories with great barbarity.

* Accordingly, on the twelfth of May, he embarked at Portsmouth, with a strong body of forces in a fleet of one hundred ships, and, after a quick passage, landed safely at Barfleur. From thence he proceeded to his palace of Bures, near Bayeux, where next morning his brother John appeared at his levee, and, throwing himself at his majesty's feet, implored his pardon, which, at the intercession of the queen-mother, was readily granted, and John received into favour; but no part of his estate was restored to him till the ensuing year, when he recovered the counties of Mortaign and Gloucester, with the honour of Eyre, except the castles; and an annuity, of eight thousand Anjevin livres, in lieu of his other possessions.

Having thus detached his brother from the interest of the French monarch, he repaired to L'Aigle, where he had appointed the rendezvous of his troops, and advanced
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* The operations of this campaign are thus recited, in a very concise manner, by the annals of Waverly.
"Post ad unavit exercitum suum, et cito transivit in
"Normanniam contra regem Francorum Phillippum,
"et obsidionem, quæ erat circa vernul fugavit, castel-
"lumque luches nomine cum omnibus qui in eo erant
"cepit, &c." *Annales Waverl. ad ann. MCXIV.*

immediately to the relief of Vernueil, which had been besieged for several days by Philip, to whom he resolved to give battle. But Philip, who had not courage to face Richard in the open field, stole from his camp in the night, and fled with great precipitation. Having repaired the fortifications of Vernueil, he proceeded to Montmirial, which the Anjouins had already taken and demolished. From thence he repaired to Tours, where he received a free gift of two thousand marks from the citizens; and marching to Loches, one of the cautionary towns delivered for the late truce, took it by assault on the thirteenth of July.

The king of France proposed a conference at Pont de l'Arche; but while the English commissioners were waiting for the French deputies, Philip took the little castle of Fontaines, and in his retreat surprized the earl of Leicester in the neighbourhood of Gournay. The treaty for a peace having proved ineffectual, he burned the town of Evreux, because the inhabitants had returned to the obedience of their sovereign the king of England, and then made a motion to Fretteval.

While he lay in this place,* Richard advanced to Vendosme, intending to give him battle

* Hemingsford authenticates this narrative in the following words, "Cognito regem Richardum in civitate
"tate

battle next morning; but Philip, afraid of the superior courage and conduct of the English monarch, retired in such confusion that he was overtaken and routed with great slaughter, and narrowly escaped with his life. All his baggae and treasure, his seal and portable chapel, were taken, together with the instruments signed by the rebellious barons, obliging themselves to stand by Philip and John, against their own sovereign.

It had hitherto been a custom in France, for the chancellors to keep authentic copies of all the grants and patents, that passed the seals of their office. These registers the kings were wont to carry along with them to the field, either for the immediate decision of such disputes as might occasionally arise, or in order to reward those subjects, who distinguished themselves by their bravery and courage, without interfering with any former patents. But all their papers being now destroyed, every one possessed of any grant or patent from the crown, was obliged to produce the original, and
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“tate esse [rex Francorum] confestim de nocte recessit.
 “Mane vero facto, rex Anglorum abeuntem exercitum
 “prosecutus regis fugientis plaustra et clittellas cum
 “quibusdam arcanis, et gaza multiplici, variaque sup-
 “pellestili comprehendit.” *Hemingford. Chron. cap.*
lxxiii.

a more secure method was contrived for keeping the records of the kingdom, which have ever since been carefully preserved.

It is not improbable that this accident suggested the hint to the English monarch, of pursuing the same plan in this country : at least it is certain that, except the book of Domesday, and the red book of the Exchequer, we have no authentic records before the reign of Richard.

Immediately after the victory of Frettelval, Richard marched with incredible expedition into Guienne, against the count of Engoulesme, and Geoffry de Rancone, lord of Pons, who had sided with his enemies. In sixteen days he reduced Chateaufort and Engoulesme, Montignac, La Chaize, Marcillac, Taillebourg, and all their other castles, the number of his prisoners amounting to three hundred knights, and forty thousand soldiers.

This rapidity of success forced the revolted to submit, and obliged Philip to sue for a truce, which was accordingly granted, and was to last till the feast of All-saints in the following year. Richard employed this interval in regulating the state of his revenue, which, he had reason to think, had been greatly embezzled.

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The itinerant justices were ordered to make a circuit through the kingdom, and to examine minutely into the management of the royal demesnes, the lands of wards, escheats and forfeitures, as also into the wealth of the Jews, which was always a ready fund for supplying the exigencies of the state in any emergency. The Jews were obliged, on pain of forfeiture and imprisonment, to deliver true inventories of all their estates, real and personal; and all their pawns, bonds, and securities were lodged in a public office, in order to prevent their frauds, and moderate their usury.

The same scrutiny was carried on by the king himself in all his foreign dominions. The officers of the revenue in Anjou and Maine being convicted of great mismanagement and corruption, were obliged to purchase their pardon by paying considerable fines. The bishop of Ely having had a principal share in concluding a dishonourable truce, during the king's captivity, was deprived of the office of chancellor; and a new seal being made, all charters were renewed, the fees arising from which, amounted to a large sum of money. Though the pope had withstood all the remonstrances of the prelates and nobility of England against Longchamp's legatine authority,

thority, his holiness was no sooner informed of his being in disgrace with his sovereign, than he stripped him of his commission, and conferred it upon Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, appointing him his legate over all the kingdom, notwithstanding the exemption granted to the see of York by his predecessor.

About this time Leopold, duke of Austria, amusing himself in a tournament, had the misfortune to have his foot crushed to pieces by a fall from his horse; and a gangrene ensuing, he suffered an amputation without success. Despairing of a recovery, he desired he might be absolved of the sentence of excommunication, which the pope had issued against him for his cruelty and injustice to the king of England. But before he could obtain absolution, he was obliged to take an oath, that he would stand to the judgment of the church, with regard to the satisfaction to be made for such a flagrant violation of the law of nature and nations. In consequence of this, Richard was released from all the conventions he had made during his captivity; the money he had paid for his ransom was ordered to be restored, and the English hostages to be set at liberty.

Leopold's successor was very unwilling to comply with this award, and suffered his

his father's corpse to lie a whole week unburied, before he would release the hostages ; but the clergy refusing to perform the funeral rites on any other terms, he was, at last, obliged to set them at liberty, and even made them an offer of four thousand marks to be restored to Richard. Of this commission, however, they did not chuse to take the charge, on account of the length and danger of the journey ; but the king was discharged from paying the remainder of his ransom, amounting to no less than twenty thousand marks.

The emperor Henry had lately raised a numerous army, and, marching into Italy, had conquered Apuglia, Calabria, and Sicily, of which he was crowned king in right of his wife Constance *. Flushed with this success, he formed a design of re-uniting to his sway all the countries which formerly was held of the Western Empire ; but as he could not hope to execute such an arduous undertaking by his own strength alone, he endeavoured to engage Richard in his interest by an offer of the kingdom of Provence, and the countries about the Rhone, provided he would take the trouble of conquering them from France.

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This offer he had made to Richard, during his captivity; and in order to shew the sincerity of his intentions, he now sent an embassy to England, with a present of a golden crown, and the proposal of an offensive and defensive alliance against Philip. Richard had no reason to be satisfied with the conduct of that monarch: the truce had been but ill observed, French parties having committed frequent depredations in Normandy; and when he was lately at Chinon, he had been in imminent danger of being assassinated by fifteen Saracens, who, being apprehended, confessed that they were suborned by the king of France for that purpose.

But he knew, at the same time, that there was no dependance to be placed in the promises of the emperor, whose head was always full of chimerical projects; that Henry had lately been upon the footing of an intimate friendship with Philip, and he was not sure but the proposal might be a plot formed between these two monarchs, in order to draw him into a breach of the truce, that so they might fall upon him with their joint forces.

However, as he had hitherto found little benefit from the pensions he had paid to the German princes for their assistance against France, he considered an alliance

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with the head of the empire, as a very desirable object; and that he might not forfeit such an advantageous connexion upon a bare suspicion, he sent the bishop of Ely to sound his real sentiments, and adjust the particulars of the treaty.

Philip, informed of their proceedings, endeavoured to intercept the bishop in his passage; but failing in that attempt, he declared that this negotiation was a breach of the truce, which he therefore renounced, and invaded Normandy with a numerous army, where he demolished several castles, which he had taken in the beginning of the war.

Vaudreuil was on the point of being levelled with the ground, when Richard advanced to its relief; and Philip, unable to cope with him in the field, had recourse to his old arts of cunning and deceit. He amused the king of England with a conference, until his engineers should have time to undermine the fortifications, which suddenly tumbled down with a hideous crash. Richard, alarmed with the noise, started up in a passion, and putting himself at the head of his troops, attacked the French with such impetuosity, that they had hardly time to retreat beyond the Seine, and Philip was almost drowned in passing a bridge, which broke down with
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the weight of him and his attendants. Several French knights were taken in Vaudreuil, which immediately surrendered, and Richard advancing into France, laid waste the country with fire and sword.

Mean while, the king of Castile having been routed and besieged in Toledo by a prodigious army of Moors, applied to the Christian princes for assistance, in consequence of which a new treaty was set on foot between France and England; but as Richard did not know the emperor's real sentiments, he postponed the conclusion of the peace till the octave of All-saints, and, in the mean time, delivered up the princess Adalais, who was immediately married to the count of Ponthieu.

The two kings agreed to a conference in the neighbourhood of Verneuil; but Philip found means to elude the appointment, and instead of repairing to the place of rendezvous, took the advantage of Richard's absence to invade Normandy, and burn the town of Dieppe, with all the ships in the harbour. The war was instantly renewed, with fresh vigour. Richard's Brabantines took the count of Auvergne, and surprized Yssadun. Philip advanced with an army to besiege the place; Richard hastened to its relief, and the terms of peace were again proposed.

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By this time the bishop of Ely had returned from Germany; he had found no firmness in the emperor's resolution, nor any consistency in his measures: Henry had only desired that Richard should continue the war against France, until he should recover all the places he had lost during his captivity, and upon this condition he offered to remit seventeen thousand marks of his ransom that still remained unpaid. The king of England chose rather to pay the money, than engage in the measures of such an irresolute and inconstant ally. Though he had, by an expeditious and unexpected march, surrounded Philip in such a manner, that he could not retreat without the most imminent danger, he nevertheless hearkened to the proposals of a treaty, which was concluded on the following terms; that the king of France should retain Gisors and Neauffle, with the Vexin Normand, Neufmarché, Gaillon, Vernon, Pacey, Jvry, and Nonancourt, with their dependencies; and that the countries of Eu and Aumale, with the castles of Argues and Driencourt, should be restored to Richard. The limits of France and Normandy were to be marked by a line drawn from the Eure to the Seine. The king of England, upon giving up his claims in Auvergne, was to keep Yffadun and Grassay, with all the fiefs belonging to them, and those

those of La Chatre, S. Chatelet, Chateau Meillant, and Seillac, with their dependencies in Berry; and Philip was to be allowed to fortify Villeneuve sur Cher. The prisoners on both sides were to be released; the count of Thoulouse was to be left in the same condition in which he was at the commencement of the war; the counts of Perigord and Engoulesme, were to be reinstated in their possessions, and to do homage to Richard; and a penalty of fifteen thousand marks was awarded against that prince, who should first infringe the articles of the treaty.

Mean while the abbot of Caen, a man of great dexterity and address, had found means to insinuate himself into the king's favour. He had persuaded him, that great part of the revenue of the crown was embezzled by the frauds of his officers, and that, by good œconomy, it might be doubled without any grievance to the subject.

The king was pleased with the proposal, and sent him over to England to carry the scheme into execution; for which purpose he invested him with full powers to inspect into the management of the royal revenue; and orders were accordingly issued for all sheriffs and officers to come at an appointed time, with their accounts, to London. But

the abbot died the day before, to the great joy of all the collectors, whose conduct perhaps could not have born such a severe scrutiny.

The archbishop of Canterbury himself did not seem to approve the expedient; for, upon the abbot's arrival, he had desired leave to resign his post, on account of his age and infirmities; but at the death of that prelate, he offered to retain his office of chancellor. He had, as chief justiciary or guardian of the realm, the sole management of the royal revenue; and in order to induce the king to continue him in his post, and to efface the impressions which the abbot's suggestions had made upon his mind, he gave his majesty to understand that he had, in the course of the two last years, remitted to him no less than eleven hundred thousand marks out of England; and Richard, amazed at the greatness of the sum, was glad to leave the care of the royal revenue in the hands of so good an œconomist.

But it has frequently been found, that those who are satisfied with a moderate share of civil power, are nevertheless extremely ambitious of extending their ecclesiastical authority. Though Hubert governed the kingdom with great equity and prudence, and confined himself within the strict limits of the law, he could not resist the strong temp-

temptation of invading the privileges of the see of York, notwithstanding that province was exempted from the jurisdiction of all legates, except of such as came from the pope *a latere*.

Geoffry, archbishop of York, seems to have been of his father Henry's principles, with regard to the court of Rome: he discouraged all appeals to that tribunal, and imprisoned such as made them. Regardless of those privileges, which were granted by the popes, he slighted all decrees made by the papal authority; and when any of his clergy had, by their appeals, procured such decrees in their favour, he insisted on the ancient laws and customs of the realm, and deprived the appellants of their dignities and benefices.

This was considered as an unpardonable insult offered to the court of Rome; and Geoffry having a dispute with his chapter about electing a dean, he had been summoned to appear at Rome, and answer the charge exhibited against him; a summons which Geoffry treated with great contempt and indifference. Hubert laid hold of this favourable opportunity, to extend his legatine power over the see of York; and accordingly, proceeding into that province, he deprived the abbot of St. Maries, on account of his age and infirmities, and held

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held a synod of the diocese, in which he made several canons agreeable to the decrees of former councils;

But though Hubert's conduct, in this particular, might be justly reprehensible, he certainly acted with great diligence and justice in the administration of government.* He totally suppressed the gangs of robbers, who sheltered themselves in the forests, and infested the adjacent country; issuing a proclamation against them, and imposing an oath upon all persons from the age of fifteen and upwards, that they would exert their utmost endeavours in order to discover, apprehend, and commit them to custody. By these means many of these banditti were taken, and the rest expelled the kingdom, to the great joy and tranquillity of the virtuous part of the nation.

But Hubert found greater difficulties in suppressing the tumults that arose between the rich and poor citizens of London. These disturbances were greatly fomented by the factious spirit, and inflammatory harangues, of one William Longbeard, so called from the length of his beard, which he suffered to grow to an immoderate degree, in order to render himself the more remarkable by that distinction. He was a lawyer by profession; he was possessed of good natural parts, some learning

learning, and great fluency of language. Forward, impudent, and ambitious, he was capable of undertaking and executing any enterprize, however difficult or dangerous.

Having reduced himself to extreme poverty by his extravagant manner of living, he hoped to retrieve his fortune by his popularity. With this view he had found means to wriggle himself into the magistracy of London; and styling himself the advocate, and even the king and saviour of the poor, he affected to espouse their cause upon all occasions. He pretended, that when the money was raised for the king's ransom, the poor had been oppressed by an unequal assessment of the taxes; and he had even gone over to Normandy, and obtained from his majesty a redress of this grievance. By these means he acquired such an influence with the populace, that he could excite them to almost any attempt. Tumults were daily raised by the lawless rabble, who besieged the more wealthy citizens in their houses, and even assaulted them in the churches.

A proclamation was published against these disturbances; but the evil was now grown to such a pitch, that above fifty thousand people had entered into an association to defend and obey William, who murdered his fellow-citizens with great barbarity; and

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and provided a large quantity of iron tools, for breaking open the doors of their houses. In a word, this mutinous spirit was now become so prevalent, that it was generally apprehended it would end in the destruction of the city. It was therefore high time for the civil magistrate to interpose his authority; but as the faction was so very strong, Hubert thought it most advisable to proceed by degrees, and to begin with the more gentle methods of entreaty and persuasion.

Accordingly having convened a common-hall, he made a speech to the citizens, in which, after having complained of the disorders that were daily committed, and of the more dangerous plots and conspiracies that were laid to their charge, he persuaded them to give hostages for their good behaviour. This end being gained, he summoned Longbeard to appear before the council, and answer to an accusation that was brought against him for murder and sedition; but he came, attended with such a formidable retinue, that his accusers durst not venture to produce their evidence, and the trial was accordingly postponed, till some opportunity could be found of seizing him without a tumult.

In a few days after, Hubert sent two citizens, with a guard, to apprehend this seditious ruffian, who killed one of them, and fled

fled to the church of St. Mary le Bow, whether he was presently followed by his concubine, and some of his accomplices, who had murdered the other citizens.

This place he employed rather as a garrison than a sanctuary, taking care to supply himself with arms and provisions, and expecting to be joined by the populace; who, however willing to relieve him, were afraid to make the attempt, either on account of the hostages they had given, or of the strong body of armed troops with which the church was surrounded. William still refusing to yield, the chancellor ordered the soldiers to force the body of the church; so that he, and his companions, were obliged to retire into the steeple, where they continued to keep garrison until they were expelled from thence by the smoke of wet straw kindled for the purpose. He was taken, tried, and condemned to be drawn at a horse's tail through the streets of London, and then hung in chains with nine of his accomplices; a sentence which was immediately put in execution.

Many endeavours were used to represent him as a martyr, and the most impudent reports were propagated of the miracles he was pretended to have wrought. The gibbet was stolen, as equal to the cross in sanctity; the turf, on which it stood, was carried

carried away, and kept as a preservative from sickness and misfortune; and numbers of people resorted to the place, either out of curiosity or devotion. In a word, this villain, notwithstanding his atrocious crimes, was in a fair way of being reputed as great a saint at London, as Becket was at Canterbury, had not the chancellor set a guard upon the place to keep off the rabble, and practiced some other severities, which soon put an end to this growing superstition.

Hubert had been employed, in the beginning of this year, in negotiating a treaty of marriage between the daughter of William, king of Scotland, and Otho, a younger son of Henry the lion, whom William, having no male issue, intended to declare his successor. This match was warmly opposed by earl Patric, and several others of the Scotch nobility, who were of opinion that the succession ought to fall to David, earl of Huntingdon, inasmuch as the crown of Scotland had never descended to a daughter, when the king had a brother alive. William, however, was resolved upon the match; and it was either to concert measures for baffling the efforts of the nobility, or to settle terms of the treaty, that Hubert now repaired to York, to hold a conference with the Scottish king.

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The articles of the contract were, that William should give his daughter to Otho, together with the province of Lothian, and that Richard should settle upon them and their heirs, for ever, the counties of Northumberland and Carlisle. But before these articles could be executed, the queen of Scotland was delivered of a son, which put an end to the whole project. Richard, in order to console Otho for his disappointment, conferred upon him the county of Poitiers, as a mark of his gratitude for the services he had done him during his captivity.

Hubert had, soon after, an occasion to exercise that military skill which he had acquired in the wars of Palestine. Rees, prince of South-wales, having burned Carmarthen and Clun, had reduced the castle of Radnor, and defeated Roger Mortimer and Hugh de Saye in a pitched battle. Against this troublesome neighbour Hubert marched in person, at the head of a numerous army; but the Welch prince not daring to face him in the field, he was obliged to content himself with reducing the castle of Guenwynwyn, which, immediately upon his retreat, was retaken by the enemy.

Mean while, the peace between France and England was violated, on account of

some disturbances in Bretagne. Constance, heiress of that duchy, had, upon the death of her first husband, Geoffry, married Ralf Blundeville, earl of Chester, who, in consideration of this match, was invested by Richard with the honour of Richmond. He lived at variance with his wife; and his government was so disagreeable to the Britons, that they drove him out of the country, and he had retired to his estate in Normandy.

Richard, desirous of reconciling the earl and Constance, sent for this princess; but she was surprized on the road by her husband, and confined in his castle of S. James de Bevron. The barons of Britany sent to their princess for instructions; with regard to the disposal of her son Arthur, who was now in the ninth year of his age.

Richard claimed the guardianship of this young prince, to which he certainly had the best title, both as his uncle, and duke of Normandy, of which the duchy of Britany was a fief. But Constance, provoked by her imprisonment, which she probably ascribed to the British monarch, recommended him to the protection of some lords, who were in the French interest, who conveyed him to S. Paul de Leon, and

and applied to Philip for assistance. Against these barons Richard sent Marcaddee with his Brabantins, and William de Turnham with a body of forces, raised in Poitou, Anjou, and Le Maine, who were entirely defeated in a bloody battle near Carhaes, in the diocese of Cornouaille.

Philip took the advantage of this disaster to invade the territories of the king of England; and entering Normandy with a numerous army, reduced Aumale, and several other places, while Richard was obliged to act on the defensive, with a small body of forces, till towards the latter end of the year, when his affairs began to take a more favourable turn. This infraction of the treaty exposed the abbots of St. Denis, Marmoutier, and Cluny, with the prior of La Charité, who had been sureties for the observance of the peace, to the penalty of fifteen thousand marks; and accordingly all their lands in England were sequestered until they should pay that sum. Mean while, Richard acted with such spirit and resolution in Brittany, that he soon reduced the rebellious lords to submission, and obliged them to give hostages for their good behaviour; and Constance being set at liberty, was entrusted with the guardianship of her son, after

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she had taken an oath to do nothing without the advice of the king of England.

At the same time, an end was put to the old and inveterate quarrel between Richard and Raimund, count of Thoulouse, by the count's marriage with Jane, queen dowager of Sicily. Raimund had seen this fair widow in her return from Palestine, and was greatly charmed with her beauty and accomplishments. The marriage was consummated in the month of October; and Richard, in consideration of the count's doing him homage, and promising to supply him with five hundred horse whenever there should be a war in Guienne, not only restored to him all the places he had taken from his father; but also bestowed upon him the Agenois and Quercy.

Richard having thus secured the peace of Guienne, resolved to strengthen the frontiers of Normandy; and as the isle of Seine, near Andely, afforded the French an easy entrance into the country, he gave orders for erecting a fortress at this last place, to stop the incursions of the enemy. The ground belonged to the see of Rouën, and Richard offered to make satisfaction to the archbishop for whatever damage the church might sustain, but that prelate, who always preferred the rights of the church
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to the public good, rejected the proposal, appealed to the pope, and laid all Normandy under an interdict.

But the pope's zeal for the interest of the church was tempered with greater prudence. After having examined the cause, he was fully satisfied with the justice of the king's proceedings, and therefore ordered Andely to be conveyed to his majesty for lands of an equal value. Nor had he any reason to repent of his moderation; for Richard, pleased with the complaisance of his holiness, was even better than his word: he granted to the see of Rouen the towns of Dieppe, Louviers, and Bouteilles, with other possessions, amounting in all to five hundred livres, of yearly rent, above the revenue of Andely, the fortifications of which were immediately compleated; and this, together with the famous Chateau-Gaillard erected at the same time, served on that side as the bulwark of Normandy.

A dreadful dearth, and its usual concomitant pestilence, had prevailed for the last five years over all the western parts of Europe, in consequence of which, it was impossible to bring large armies into the field; so that the war between France and England was carried on in petty skirmishes and slight incursions.

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A little after the Easter-holidays*, Richard entered Picardy, took the town of St. Valery on the Somme, demolished the castle, seized all the ships in the harbour; and, among these, finding five English corn vessels, which had brought provisions to the enemy, he caused the masters to be hanged as traitors to their country, and then returned into Normandy with an immense booty.

Soon after, the castle of Melly in Beauvoisis was invested by John, count of Mortaign, and Marcaddee, general of the Brabantins, and being taken by assault, was levelled with the ground. Peter de Dreux, bishop of Beauvais, and first cousin to the French king, endeavouring to raise the siege, was drawn into an ambush, and taken prisoner.

The bishop, who was better qualified for the camp than the pulpit, was closely confined at Rouen by the king's orders, and even put in fetters as a mark of disgrace; and when two of his clergy came to petition that he might be used with greater lenity, Richard told them, that he treated the bishop in this manner by way of retaliation for the many injuries he had received from him in Palestine and Germany; adding, that in consequence of
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Peter's representations to the emperour, he himself had been loaded with as many irons as a horse could carry. The bishop applied to the pope, entreating him to intercede in his behalf; but his holiness declined the office, because he had been taken in arms like a foldier; and Richard refused to dismiss him until he should pay ten thousand marks for his ransom.

The king of France had, ever since his accession to the throne, exerted his utmost endeavours to retrench the privileges, and crush the power of his nobility, who, during several of the preceding reigns, had acted as if they had been entirely independent of the crown. This measure had excited a general spirit of dissatisfaction among all the principal barons, and Richard did not fail to avail himself of such a favourable opportunity.

The most powerful of the malecontents was Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainault, a third part of whose territories had been seized by Philip, at the death of his predecessor. With this nobleman Richard formed an offensive and defensive alliance, which was to be binding not only upon them, but upon their heirs and descendants for ever. In consequence of this treaty, the king supplied the count with a sum of money that enabled him to raise
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an army, with which he reduced Douay, Aire, and several other fortresses, and at last invested Arras. Philip advanced to the relief of the place; and, upon the news of his approach, Baldwin raised the siege, and retired before him, until the French had penetrated a great way into the country. But this retreat was only a feint. Baldwin had taken care to break down the bridges, open the sluices, and seize the passes in the rear of the French army; so that Philip found himself cooped up in an enemy's country, destitute of provision, and deprived of all hopes of escaping without the most imminent danger.

In this dilemma, Philip sent deputies to the count to propose the terms of an accommodation: he reminded him of his duty as a vassal of France, and offered to restore to him all the places he had taken, provided he would renounce his alliance with the king of England, the inveterate enemy of the French monarchy. Baldwin, influenced by this tempting offer, allowed the French to retire in safety; but refused to break with Richard, to whom he had given hostages for the performance of articles. However, he acted the part of a mediator between the two monarchs, whom he persuaded to hold a conference in the neighbourhood of Andely, where, though a
perfect

perfect accommodation could not be effected, a truce, for one year, was concluded, and the prisoners on both sides were released for a reasonable ransom.

By this time, Richard plainly perceived how little dependance could be placed in the count of Flanders; nor was it so much by his persuasions, as by the advice of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, whom he had sent for to the continent, that he agreed to the late truce with Philip *. Hubert, on his return to England, issued a proclamation for fixing the standard of the currency; appointing one set of weights to be uniformly used over the whole kingdom; and containing some regulations for the prevention of frauds and imposition in the woollen manufacture.

He then made a progress to the marches of Wales, changing the governours of Hereford, Ludlow, and Bridgnorth; and repairing from thence to Coventry, he turned the secular canons out of the priory, and restored the monks, who had been expelled by Hugh Nonant, bishop of the diocese. But his legatine power was soon abolished by the death of pope Celestine, and his successor Innocent III. would never renew his commission.

Hubert,

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Hubert; it seems, had built a chapel at Lambeth, and the monks of Christ-church, suspecting him of a design against them, similar to that of his predecessor Baldwin, had represented him as an enemy to the papal authority.

In consequence of these suggestions, Innocent not only ordered him to demolish the chapel he had finished, but even to resign the post of justiciary, as inconsistent with the clerical character. In this office he was succeeded by Geoffry Fitz-piers, who, in right of his wife Beatrix de Saye, inherited the barony of William de Mandeville, late earl of Essex. It was under the administration of the new justiciary, that the assize of the forest was published, re-establishing the severe penalties of the game-laws enacted by Henry, son of William the Conquerour.

About the same time, a grievous talliage was exacted from the subject, at the rate of five shillings for every hide * of land in the kingdom. This was the severest tax that had been laid since the time of the conquerour, and as it fell solely upon the soccage-tenants, and farmers, it was the occasion of great clamour and dissatisfaction.

* A hide contained an hundred acres, which, at that time, amounted to six score.

tion. The clergy, who were likewise subjected to this imposition, refused, at first, to pay their proportion; but being deprived of the protection of the king's court, and rendered incapable of recovering debts or forfeitures, they were, at last, obliged to submit.

After this unpopular measure, Geoffry marched into South-Wales to raise the siege of Castle-Payne in Radnorshire, in which William de Braouse was blocked up by Guenwynwyn, lord of Powis, whose cousin Trahern Vaughan had been treacherously murdered by William's contrivance. Tho' the justiciary was attended by a good body of forces, and was joined by the lords of the Marches, with their followers, he did not think himself strong enough to dislodge the enemy. He therefore set Grifith ap Rees at liberty, who having raised his vassals, and joined the English, a battle ensued, in which Guenwynwyn was totally routed, above three thousand of his men were slain, many were taken prisoners, and Geoffry returned in triumph to London.

Henry VI. emperor of Germany, being lately dead, Richard was now summoned to the diet at Cologne, to assist at the election of a successor to the imperial

rial throne *. He did not chuse to go thither in person; but sent ambassadors with instructions, that, since his eldest nephew Henry, duke of Saxony, and count Palatine, could not be chosen on account of his absence in Palestine, they should use their best endeavours in favour of his younger nephew Otho, who was accordingly elected, and crowned at Aix la Chapelle on the twelfth of July, though his right to the crown was long disputed by Philip of Suabia, brother to the late emperor.

The king of France, glad of every opportunity to thwart the measures of Richard, espoused the cause of this competitor, and engaged in a league with him against Otho; while this prince, on the other hand, was supported by the king of England, the duke of Louvain, and the counts of Braine, Boulogne, Guisnes, Perche, Blois, and Thoulouse, who entered into a confederacy against France, and bound themselves by a mutual oath, to listen to no terms of peace, without the common consent of the association.

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* Richard seems to have been summoned to this diet either as king of Provence, a title conferred upon him by the late emperor, or because the lands he was possessed of in France, had formerly been part of the empire, and he had actually done homage for them to Henry during his captivity.

The truce expiring about the end of autumn, Baldwin, count of Flanders, invaded Artois, and took St. Omer. At the same time, Philip began the war on the frontiers of Normandy; but with a cruelty and barbarity unheard of before, and which will ever cover his name with an indelible mark of infamy; for he ordered all his prisoners to be deprived of their eye-sight; an inhuman practice, which provoked Richard, who was certainly of a fiery and resentful temper, to a retaliation.

The two kings soon came to an action between Gamages and Vernon. The battle was begun with great fury on both sides, and for some time maintained with no less resolution; but victory, at last, declared in favour of Richard, who routed his adversary, and pursued him to the gates of Vernon, from whence the French retired to Mante, in order to recruit their forces.

Richard did not fail to improve this advantage by the reduction of several castles, and at length took Courcelles by assault; but Philip being ignorant of this event, resolved to attempt the relief of that important fortress. With this view he began his march from Mante, at the head of four hundred knights, and threescore esquires, on horseback, and a strong body of militia;

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but when he advanced to the neighbourhood of Courcelles, and found the place already taken, he directed his route towards Gisors.

But he was not allowed to retreat in safety. Richard attacked him with such impetuosity, that his army was entirely routed, and fled with great precipitation * :

Philip

* We have a particular account of this battle, in a letter by written the king himself to the bishop of Durham, which it may not be improper to subjoin.

“ Know,” says he, “ that on the Sunday before Michaelmas, we entered the territories of France by Dangu, and attacked Courcelles, which, with its castle, tower, governour, and garrison, we took. The same day we assaulted the strong house of Bures, which we likewise took, and returned at night to Dangu.

“ Next day the king of France, being informed of our march, came from Mante, with three hundred knights and their esquires, and a body of militia, to succour Courcelles, which he did not know was taken. As soon as we heard of his approach, we went with a small party, and took post on the banks of the Epte, believing that the enemy intended to attack us by the ford of Dangu. But the enemy advanced on the side of Gisors, at the gates of which city we attacked them, and obliged them to fly with such precipitation, that the king of France, as we heard, drank of the river, and about twenty of his knights were drowned. We, with our own hand, unhorsed and took prisoners Matthew de Montmorency, Alan de Rouffy, and Fulk de Givernal; and about an hundred knights more have fallen

Philip himself had well nigh been drowned in the river Epte, the bridge, over which he passed, being broken down by the number of fugitives that crowded after him, and above twenty knights having perished by its fall. This accident cutting off the retreat of the French forces, they were almost all killed or taken. Among the prisoners there were an hundred knights of great figure and quality; three of whom, to wit, Matthew de Montmorency, Alan de Rouffy, and Fulk de Gelerval were unhorsed and taken by Richard himself.

Immediately after this victory, Marcaddee, with his Brabantins, made an incursion into Picardy, and penetrated as far as Abbeville, where he found an immense booty, and took a great number of merchants, who were obliged to pay considerable sums for their ransom. Richard erected the fortress of Boutavant in the isle of Seine,

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and

"fallen into the hands of our troops. Their names
 "we shall send you when we have seen them, for
 "Morcaddee, general of the Brabantins, has thirty
 "of them, whom we have not yet seen. The number
 "of the esquires, horsemen, and foot, that are
 "taken, cannot be distinctly ascertained. Two hundred
 "led horses are taken, of which one hundred
 "and forty are covered with iron.
 "Thus did we overcome the king of France at
 "Gisors; though not we, but God and our right for
 "us." *Rym. v. i. p. 96.*

and Philip having raised an army, burnt the town of Evreux, with seven villages in the neighbourhood.

Tired, however, of a war attended with so many losses and misfortunes, he made overtures of peace to Richard, offering to restore to him all the places he had taken since the commencement of the crusade, except Gisors, and even this he was willing to submit to the arbitration of six Norman and six French barons, to be respectively chosen by the two monarchs.

These terms were so just and reasonable, that a perfect reconciliation would, in all probability, have ensued, could Philip have been prevailed upon to grant a pardon to the count of Flanders, and the other French barons who had adhered to the king of England during the late troubles; but this he absolutely refused to do; and Richard would not consent to a peace upon any other conditions. A truce, however, was concluded, to last from November to the feast of St. Hilary following.

But whatever aversion Philip had discovered to the conclusion of a solid peace, he soon found that this was the only thing that could save him from utter ruin. The alliance formed against him was so strong, that he was altogether unable to cope with such a powerful opposition. He therefore solicited

solicited the good offices of the pope, in order to establish a final peace between him and the king of England; and Innocent, knowing that no effectual relief could be given to the Christians in Palestine, while the war between the two crowns continued, readily complied with his request, and sent Peter, cardinal of Capua, into France, to effect a reconciliation.

Richard had no reason to be satisfied with the conduct of his holiness, who had refused to excommunicate the king of France, for having invaded his territories, during his expedition to Jerusalem. But as that pontiff had great influence on the affairs of Germany, and claimed the right of putting the golden crown on the emperor's head; and as Richard wanted to engage him in the interest of his nephew Otho, he cheerfully consented to the legate's proposal of an interview with Philip.

Accordingly, the two monarchs met between Vernon and Andely, Richard appearing in a boat on the Seine, and the king of France sitting on horseback on the bank of the river.* Here they agreed to accept the mediation of the pope, and fixed a day for another conference in the presence of the cardinal, prelates, and nobility of both

M 3

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* A. D. 1199.

kingdoms. At this second meeting a truce was concluded for five years, and the troops on both sides were dismissed.

But Philip had contracted such an inveterate habit of treachery and deceit, that he could not observe his engagements, even when his own interest required that he should observe them. Marcaddee, in returning with his Brabantins to his quarters, was attacked by four French noblemen, and several of his people were slain; and Philip, taking the advantage of Richard's absence, who, trusting to the truce, had gone into Guienne, erected a fortress between Gaillon and Bontavant, and ordered an adjoining forest to be cut down, though it belonged to the king of England.

Richard was not of a temper to put up with such indignities. He returned forthwith into Normandy, and demanded satisfaction for these breaches of the treaty; and sent his chancellor, Eustace bishop of Ely, to declare that he would hold the truce as dissolved, unless the new castle was immediately demolished.

The king of France pretended that he was entirely ignorant of the injury done to the Brabantins, and promised to dismantle the fortress; but Richard insisted upon a final determination of all their controversies. Several conferences were held for this purpose, and
a treaty

a treaty of peace was at last concluded on the following conditions: that Richard should give his niece Blanche, of Carlisle, in marriage to Philip's eldest son Lewis, with Gisors, and twenty thousand marks of silver, as her portion; that all the other places, taken from Richard, should be restored; that, as an indemnification for Gisors, Philip should convey to the king of England the right of nomination to the archbishopric of Tours; and that he should promise, upon oath, to assist Otho with all his power against his competitor, Philip of Suabia; an article which he had no intention to perform.

Philip had always found his advantage in the dissensions of the royal family of England; and, in order to sow the seeds of discord between the king and his brother, he told Richard that John had privately courted his protection, and devoted himself entirely to the service of France; and, as a proof of this assertion, produced a letter in John's own hand-writing, which he had probably received from that prince in the course of their former correspondence.

The warm and passionate are generally credulous. Richard believing the information, and fired with indignation at the supposed treachery of his brother, ordered all his lands to be sequestered, without examining

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amining into the truth of the accusation. But John was not long in clearing himself from this injurious aspersion. He was no sooner informed of the charge, than he sent two knights to the court of France, to defend his innocence either in court or combat. But neither Philip, nor any of his barons, would venture to accept the challenge; and Richard, convinced of John's innocence, re-admitted him into his favour, and treated him with greater confidence than he had ever done before; because he had hitherto suspected his fidelity, as appears from the expression he used when he formerly pardoned him at the desire of his mother: "I wish," said he, "I may as easily forget your offence, as I am afraid you will forget my pardon."

After this reconciliation, Richard repaired into Guienne, to settle the affairs of that duchy, proposing to return soon to another conference with the king of France, in order to ratify the articles of the treaty.

But an accident happened, in the meantime, which put an end to his life. Aymar, viscount of Limoges, having seized a treasure found by a peasant in digging a field, the king of England laid claim to it as lord paramount of the country; and Aymar refusing to deliver it up, Richard assembled a body of troops, and invested the castle of Chalus,

Chalus, in which he understood the treasure was lodged. On the fourth day of the siege, as he rode out to reconnoitre the place, armed only with a cuirass on his breast, and attended by Marcaddee, general of the Brabantins, he was shot in the shoulder with an arrow from a cross-bow; an instrument which he himself had either invented, or at least brought into use. An unskilful surgeon endeavouring to extract the weapon, mangled the flesh in such a manner, that a gangrene ensued.

When he found his end approaching, he made a will, in which he bequeathed the kingdom of England, and all his other dominions, with three-fourths of his treasure, to his brother John; enjoining his attendants, at the same time, to swear fealty to him, and to put him in possession of all his castles. The other fourth of his treasure he distributed among his servants and the poor; and his jewels he left to his nephew Otho, emperor of Germany.

The archbishop of Roüen, who acted as his confessor, exhorted him to put away his three daughters. "Daughters!" replied the king, "why you know I have none." "Yes," said the prelate, "you have three; Pride, Covetousness, and Luxury." "Then," said Richard, "that I may bestow them where I know they will be
"cherish-

“cherished, I dispose of my pride to the
 “Knights-Templars, my covetousness to the
 “Cisterians, and my luxury to the pre-
 “lates.”

The castle of Chalus being taken, he ordered Bertram de Gourdon, who had shot the arrow, to be brought into his presence. Bertram being come, “What harm,” said the king, “did I ever do thee, that thou shouldst kill me?” The other replied, with great courage and resolution, “You killed, with your own hand, my father and two of my brothers, and you likewise designed to kill me. You may now satiate your revenge. I should cheerfully suffer all the torments that can be inflicted, were I but sure of having delivered the world of a tyrant, who filled it with blood and carnage.”

This bold and spirited answer struck Richard with remorse, and made a deeper impression upon his mind than all the admonitions of his ghostly director. He ordered the prisoner to be presented with one hundred shillings, and set at liberty; but Marcaddee, like a true ruffian, commanded him to be dead alive.

The king having settled the concerns of his soul, and given directions about his funeral; expired on the sixth of April, in the forty-second year of his age, and the tenth
 of

of his reign, leaving no legitimate issue, and only one natural son, named Philip, to whom he had given the castle and honour of Cognac in Guienne, and who revenged his father's death by slaying the viscount of Limoges. Richard's brain and bowels, in consequence of his own orders, were interred in the abbey of St. Sauveur de Charroux, in Poitou; his heart, which appeared of a surprising magnitude, was deposited in a silver shrine, in the cathedral of Roüen; and his body was buried at the feet of his father, in the church of Fontevrault.*

Such was the death of Richard I. who, in personal bravery and military prowess, excelled all the princes of that age, and equalled the most renowned of those heroes, who have lived in more ancient or more modern times. He was tall, strong, and well.

* Upon his coffin were inscribed, in golden letters, the six following verses, specifying his greatest and most glorious achievements; such as his victory over the Sicilians; his conquest of Cyprus; the sinking of the great carrack of the Saracens; the taking of the Babylonian caravan; and the defending of Joppa against the infidels.

*Scribitur hoc tumulo, Rex auree, laus tua, tota
Aurea, materia conveniente notâ.*

*Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromæ
Tertia, Carvana quarta, suprema Joppe.*

*Suppressi Siculi, Cyprus pessundata, Dromæ
Merfus, Carvana capta, retenta Joppe.*

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well-proportioned. His arms were long; his eyes blue, and full of vivacity. His hair was of a yellowish colour; his countenance fair, and comely; and his air was grand, noble, and such as became a king. He was endued with a good understanding, great penetration and depth of thought, a clear head, a solid judgment, and such a fund of manly eloquence, that an ancient historian compares him to Ulysses in the art of persuasion. He was possessed of a ready wit, and was admired for his talent at repartee; and though naturally grave and serious in his outward deportment, yet in his private conversation he was extremely frank and facetious, and treated his courtiers with great familiarity.

Of his courage and ability in war, the great and glorious achievements he performed, as well in Europe as in Asia, which have been recorded in the history of his life, will ever remain eternal monuments. The Saracens stilled their children with the terror of his name; and Saladine, who was a great and a good prince, admired his valour to such a degree, that, immediately after he had been defeated by Richard, in the plains of Joppa, he sent him a couple of fine Arabian horses, as a mark of his esteem; a compliment which reflects equal honour upon the giver and the receiver, and
which

which Richard returned with magnificent presents.

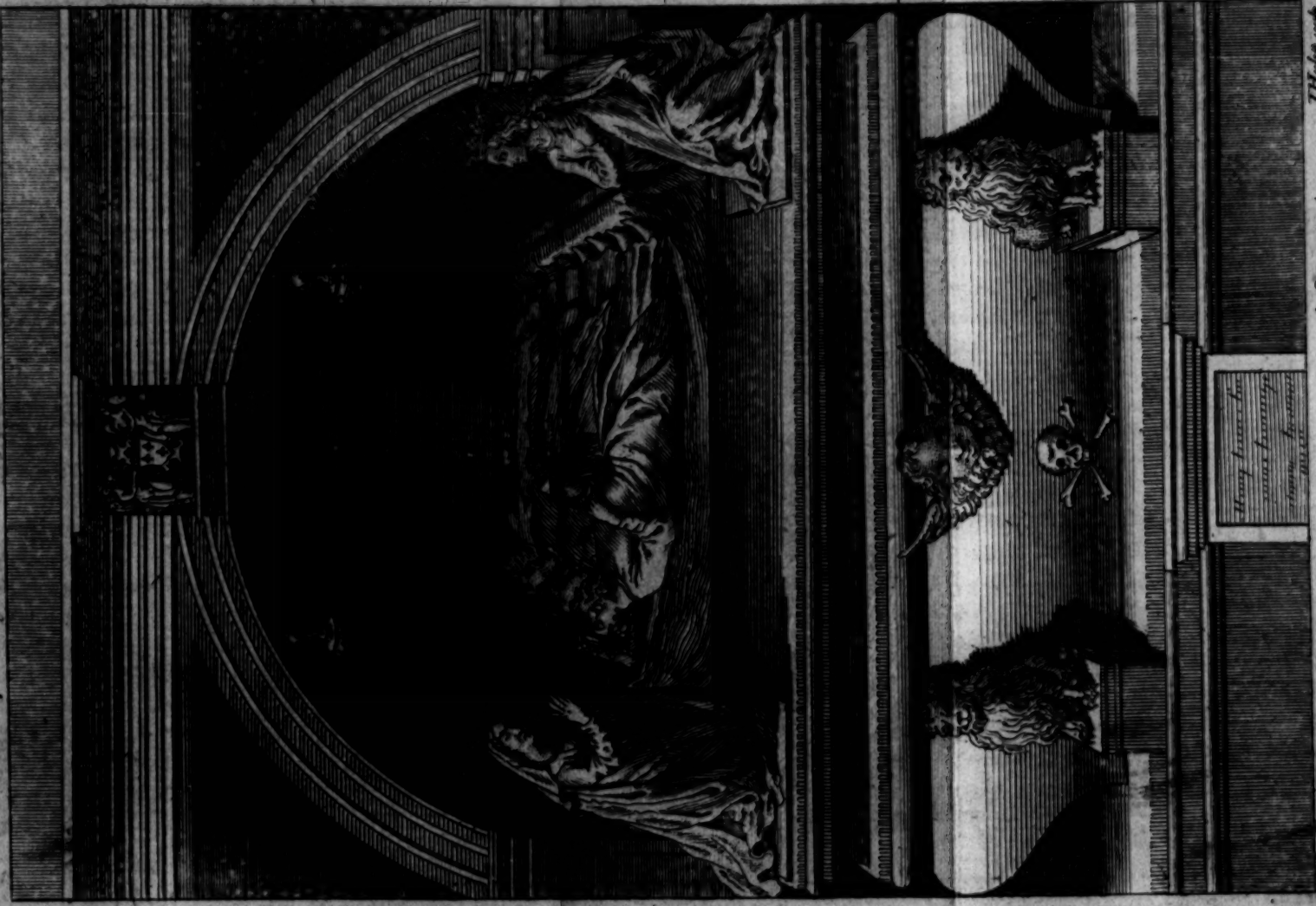
The warmth of Richard's temper, and the fire of his genius, frequently led him to pursue such measures as have given occasion for malevolent writers to brand his memory with the odious imputation of cruelty; but a man's character ought not surely to be estimated by those actions which are the effect of passion and resentment; but by such only as are performed with coolness and deliberation: and it is impossible to produce a single instance in the whole of Richard's life, in which he can be said to have been deliberately cruel.

Indeed, as he was remarkable for his probity and integrity himself, he resented, with a becoming indignation, the breaches of honour in others; and whenever he was deceived by the treachery, or wronged by the injustice of his enemies, he employed such means for procuring redress, as the impartial will call just, and the invidious will term severe; but no sooner had he obtained that redress, and reduced his enemies to submission, than he acted with that generosity and condescension which ever characterizes a great and a noble mind: witness the frankness with which he pardoned his brother John, after a series of ingratitude, treachery,

chery, and rebellion : witness the readiness with which he renewed his truces with the king of France, as soon as he had recovered the places which had been wrested from him by perfidy and injustice, and when he had it in his power to punish his adversary, by invading and seizing his territories : witness, finally, the unparalleled greatness of soul with which he forgave the authour of his death, and even ordered him to be rewarded for acting like a brave soldier.

As to the charge of avarice, which some writers bring against him, it is equally false and groundless. He was never known to hoard up his money, like a covetous miser ; but expended it with great liberality, if not with profusion. It is true, the people were loaded with heavy taxes during his reign ; but these taxes were equally heavy, in the reigns of some of his predecessors ; and even the money arising from thence, was employed in defraying the expences of a war, which, however ridiculous it may appear in modern times, was certainly held laudable and praise-worthy at that period. In a word, those who are most forward in blaming his conduct, must allow, that, had he enjoyed a longer life, Philip would neither have acquired the title of *august*, which he afterwards obtained on account of *augmenting* his territories

The Monument of Henry 2^d & Richard 1st & their Queens at Font Evraud in France.



Engraved for Rulers History of England.

H. H. sculp.



JOHN.



Engraved for Rider's History of England.

territories by conquest; nor would England have suffered those disgraces and misfortunes, in which she was involved in the reign of his successor.

JOHN, surnamed LACKLAND.

A. D. 1199.

THOUGH Richard had bequeathed his dominions to his brother, to the exclusion of the heir of blood, John's right to the crown was not, by that means, rendered incontestable.

How absolute soever a prince may be in his life-time, his power generally dies with him, and his will is no farther regarded, than as it is consistent with the laws of the land, or is supported by a military force.

In determining the point of succession to Richard's dominions, two questions occurred to be solved, neither of them easy to be decided. The first was, whether, according to law, Arthur duke of Bretagne, as representing his father Geoffry, elder brother to John, had not a better right to the crown than his uncle John, who was one degree nearer. The second was, whether, in case

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the laws favoured the nephew, Richard had a power to dispose of his dominions at pleasure.

These questions were the more difficult to be solved, as the laws of England and Normandy were extremely different; and as even in England there was no express law concerning the succession to the throne, by which the kings were either allowed or debarred the privilege of disposing of it according to their pleasure.

Besides, if, for want of such a law, the English history had been searched for precedents, that method would not have removed the difficulty. From the time of William the conqueror, to the period of which we are now speaking, there had been no law made with regard to the right of succession.

True it is, during the reigns of the Saxon princes, many examples might have been produced, where the right of the heir of blood had been preferred; but others might likewise be shewn, where it had been sometimes violated; so that no certain conclusion could be drawn from these contradictory premisses. Add to this, that it was now above an hundred years since the Saxon laws were abolished, or, at least, altered by the introduction of the Normanic customs.

Hence

The Great Seal of King John.



Engraved for Rider's History of England.

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(The Great Seal of K. JOHN.



Engraved for Rider's History of England.



Hence it appears, that the strongest argument in John's favour was, that, as there was no express law concerning the succession to the crown, his title was as good as his nephew's, and had moreover this additional advantage, that it was confirmed by the will of his brother. But it must be observed, on the other hand, that in almost all the provinces possessed by the English in France, the right of succession in the lineal descent was generally established.

From all these particulars it seems to follow, that, had this matter been submitted to the determination of a court of justice, or of a general assembly of the states, it would have been attended with great and almost insuperable difficulties. But John was too prudent to put the success of his cause upon such a tedious and uncertain issue. Regardless of the cavils raised by the captious, or of the scruples entertained by men of a tender conscience, he firmly believed his right to be good, and therefore resolved to maintain it against all opposition.

Accordingly, he immediately dispatched Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and William Mareschall, afterwards earl of Pembroke, into England, to concert measures with queen Eleanor, and Geoffry Fitz-piers, the chief justiciary, in order to support his interest.

Though Eleanor's affection may be supposed to have been equally divided between her son and grandson; there was a private reason that effectually turned the scale in John's favour. Had Arthur succeeded to the throne, his mother Constance would naturally have had a share in the government; and therefore Eleanor, who was remarkably ambitious, and could not bear the thoughts of being eclipsed by her own daughter-in-law, warmly espoused the cause of her son, under whose administration she expected to enjoy a considerable influence.

These four persons exerted themselves so effectually in John's behalf, that they soon engaged the greatest part of the nation in his interest. They exacted an oath of fealty in his favour from all citizens, burghers, corporations, and military tenants of the crown. Some of the prelates and nobility, indeed, refused to comply with this measure, and retired to their castles, which they fortified, as if they had intended to maintain their independency, and disown the authority of the count of Mortaign. This step they seemed to have taken from an apprehension, that if John should ascend the throne of England, he would not fail to wreak his vengeance on them for opposing his treasonable practices,

tices, when he had formerly attempted to seize the crown during his brother's captivity.

But Hubert and his colleagues having summoned them to an assembly at Northampton, and assured them of John's generosity and munificence, which were proved by the grants of manors, wardships and beneficial offices, they were, at length, prevailed upon to follow the example of the rest of the nation, and to take an oath of fealty to him, on certain conditions, which they stipulated for their own security.

At the same time, they persuaded David, earl of Huntingdon, to pacify his brother William, king of Scotland, whose ambassadors they had stopped in their way to John, with a demand of Northumberland and Cumberland. They desired David to acquaint him that, though they could not allow his deputies to pass, before he had taken an oath of fealty to the new king, they would employ their utmost endeavours, in order to procure him satisfaction, if he would promise to raise no disturbances in the kingdom till John's arrival.

Amidst this general disposition in John's favour, it was not to be expected, that any considerable party could be formed in England in behalf of prince Arthur, who
was

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was but in the eleventh year of his age, and had never been in the island.

He lived under the tuition of his mother Constance, a weak, passionate, and indiscreet woman, who, by her imprudent conduct, had forfeited the esteem of every one that might have befriended her family. She was so strongly suspected of an intrigue with prince John, who was continually in her company, that her husband, Ralph, earl of Chester, obtained a divorce from her on that account; after which she married a younger brother of the viscount de Thouars.

But though nobody would espouse the cause of prince Arthur in England, he met with some friends in Richard's foreign dominions. Thomas de Furnes delivered to him the castle and town of Angers, of which he was governour. The prelates and nobility of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, declared, they would adhere to the customs and constitution of those countries, by which the son of the elder brother ought to succeed to that inheritance which the father would have enjoyed, had he survived; they therefore acknowledged Arthur as their liege lord, and, by a solemn act of their assembly, established him in the possession of the government. Constance hoping to maintain her son's right, by the
assistance

assistance of the king of France, put him under the protection of that monarch, who garrisoned all his towns and castles, sent the young king to Paris to be educated with his son Lewis, and, regardless of the truce which had been concluded before Richard's death, invaded Normandy, which he ravaged with fire and sword.

Mean while, John had repaired to Chinnon, where Robert de Turnham put him in possession of his brother's treasure, together with all the fortresses in his custody. He then advanced to Le Mans, which, together with the castle he took, and dismantled, and carried off the inhabitants prisoners, in order to strike terror into all those who had acknowledged Arthur's authority. After this exploit, he returned to Rouen, where, on the twenty-fifth of April, he was invested with the sword and ducal coronet of Normandy by the archbishop of that city, who administered to him the oath usually taken on such occasions.

Having thus established himself in the quiet possession of his brother's foreign dominions, and understanding that the way was paved for his accession to the throne of England, he immediately embarked for that country; and landing at Shoreham on the
twenty-

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twenty-fifth of March, proceeded directly to London.

On the twenty-seventh of the same month, he was crowned at Westminster, by Hubert, in presence of all the prelates, abbots, and barons of the kingdom, and took the usual oath to maintain the peace of the church and the people; to restrain all men from the commission of rapine and other iniquities; and to observe equity and mercy in all his decisions.

As John had ascended the throne, not by the right of blood, but by the interest and good offices of his friends, he took care to reward their fidelity and service. Immediately after the coronation, he bestowed the post of chancellor on archbishop Hubert: William Mareschal, Geoffry Fitzpiers, and William de Ferrers were created earls, the first of Pembroke, the second of Essex, and the last of Derby: Roger de Lacy was gratified with the castle and honour of Pontefract; and other barons were favoured with the like marks of honour and advantage.

He did not comply so easily with the demands of the king of Scotland. He amused his envoys with general promises of doing him justice, provided he would come to court; and in hopes of an interview with that monarch, he repaired to Nottingham. From thence he sent the bishop of Durham to Berwick,

Berwick, to invite William to a conference; but the Scottish king refusing the invitation, and unwilling to trust to the good faith of a prince, whom he probably considered as an usurper, gave him to understand, that if his request was not granted within the space of forty days, he would assert his claim by force of arms. In order, therefore, to secure the kingdom against the invasions of the enemy, the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, with all their castles, were committed to the charge of William D'Estouteville, a baron of great power and influence in that part of the country.

Having thus settled the affairs of England, John went over to Normandy, and assembled an army at Rouën, to oppose the attempts of Philip, who proposed a truce, and both parties offered to hold a conference for putting an end to all their differences. John still enjoyed the benefit of those alliances, which had been formed by his brother Richard.

Baldwin, count of Flanders, repaired to Rouën, and did homage to John for the continuance of his pension. His example was followed by the other French allies, whom the late king had engaged in his interest, to the number of fifteen counts or noblemen, who now visited John, and upon

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on receiving their subsidies, swore they would never listen to any terms of accommodation without his consent; and he, in return, promised upon oath, that he would never agree to a peace with France, without including them in the treaty.

Queen Eleanor had, after the death of Richard, done homage to Philip, at Tours, for the duchy of Guienne, of which she then took possession, in consequence of a previous agreement with her son John; but this prince had assumed the government of Normandy, without the consent of the French king, and had never signified the least intention of performing the duty of a vassal for that province.

Philip was so highly incensed at this affront, that when the kings met near Gail-
lon to hold their conference, he behaved to John with great reserve, and was very unreasonable in his demands, insisting upon the cession of all the Vexin Normand to himself, and of all Guienne, Anjou, Touraine and Maine, to prince Arthur; conditions which the other rejected with contempt and indignation. John was the more encouraged to behave in this spirited manner, as he placed great confidence in the fidelity of his French allies, and had lately received letters from his nephew Otho, desiring him not to make a precipitate

pitate peace with France, as his affairs began to take a more favourable turn, and he should soon be able to assist him with the whole force of the empire.

But John seems to have depended too much upon the assistance of his allies, and by that means lost an opportunity which he could never recover, of settling a firm peace with Philip, if indeed a firm peace could possibly have been made with a prince, who never regarded his treaties further, than as they tallied with his humour or his interest.

Philip was now involved in great difficulties, in consequence of a quarrel with the see of Rome, and would have been obliged to accept of almost any terms. He had lately gained some trifling advantages over Baldwin, count of Flanders, and, in a skirmish near Lens, had taken Philip, count of Namur, Baldwin's brother, with Peter de Douay, and Peter de Corbeil, bishop elect of Cambray, prisoners. This last had been preceptor to pope Innocent, who insisted on his release; but Philip refused to comply with his request, because his holiness had not interposed in behalf of the bishop of Beauvais, who still remained a prisoner in Normandy. Peter of Capua, the pope's legate, laid France under an interdict, and in order to shew his

impartiality, he fulminated the same sentence against Normandy, until both prelates should be set at liberty, which was no sooner done, than the censure was removed.

But Philip was daily threatened with another sentence of this kind, and even of excommunication, on account of his divorce from the princess of Denmark, and his subsequent marriage with Mary, daughter of Berthold IV. duke of Meranie, which were both declared null, though Mary had born him a daughter, and was now pregnant with a son, who was named Philip, and was afterwards legitimated by his father. Innocent ordered him to put away this princess, and take back Ingeburga, on pain of being excommunicated, and having his kingdom laid under an interdict.

Philip, unwilling to comply with the injunction of his holiness, employed all his art and influence to ward off the intended blow; but Innocent, who was a man of great spirit and resolution, finding all other expedients ineffectual, at last pronounced an interdict against the kingdom of France, in a council assembled for that purpose at Vienne in Dauphiné.

Philip, provoked at this censure, exerted his utmost efforts to prevent its taking effect,

fect, and treated those who obeyed it with great severity; but, in spite of all his endeavours, it produced such a commotion in the kingdom, that he began to be apprehensive of an excommunication, and therefore, in compliance with the pope's order, he renounced his latter marriage, and took Ingeburga again to wife, in a public council held at Nesle, by the cardinals of Ostia and St. Paul, who were delegated by his holiness for compromising the matter.

The conference between the kings having proved ineffectual, Philip invaded Normandy and reduced Conches; and then marching into Le Maine, took and demolished Ballon, one of the strongest fortresses in that country. William de Roches, hereditary seneschal of Le Maine, and general of Arthur's forces, complained of this demolition as an injury done to the young prince. Philip replied, that he would act according to his own judgment, and not by the direction of either Arthur or his seneschal, and immediately advanced to the siege of Lavardin.

William, apprehending that this fort might be treated in the same manner, and plainly perceiving that Philip consulted only his own interest, resolved, if possible, to effect an accommodation between Arthur and his uncle. For this purpose he made proposals

to John, who was so well pleased with the overture, that he marched to the relief of Lavardin, and obliged the French king to raise the siege, and evacuate the whole country of Le Maine. At the same time, William had found means to conduct Arthur from Paris to Le Maine, of which he was governour; and, in concert with the young prince and his mother Constance, he delivered up the place to the king of England.

But John, who was by no means remarkable for a scrupulous observance of his promise, had no sooner got his nephew and his sister-in-law in his power, than he sent for Aimery, viscount of Thouars, and compelled him to give up the castle of Chinon, and resign his post of seneschal of Anjou. A step so contrary to the spirit and terms of the agreement could not fail to alarm Constance, who, hearing that John intended to seize the person of Arthur, retired in the night with her son, the viscount de Thouars, and a great number of adherents, and repaired immediately to Angers, where she was soon after married to Guy, the viscount's brother.

Mean while, Peter of Capua, the pope's legate, exerted his utmost endeavours to effectuate a solid peace between France and England, and as a previous step, prevailed

vailed upon the two monarchs to agree to a suspension of arms till the feast of St. Hilary following. This interval Philip employed in dissolving the formidable alliance between the king of England and the French nobility; and his endeavours were soon crowned with success.

Baldwin, count of Flanders, the most powerful of the French confederates, had formed a design of going on an expedition to Palestine; an enterprize which he could not undertake, until he should have concluded a peace with Philip. Accordingly, by the mediation of the countess of Paris, a reconciliation was effected; and the other members of the confederacy, despairing of success, made their submission to Philip.

This defection gave a terrible blow to the prospects of the king of England, who being further influenced by the advice of his mother Eleanor, and the dread he had of his nephew Arthur, resolved, at any rate, to conclude a peace with Philip; and this monarch, under the terror of an interdict, was as desirous of a pacification.

Both princes being thus favourably disposed, they could hardly fail of coming to an agreement; and accordingly, in a conference between Gaillon and Andely, a

peace was concluded on the following conditions: that Eyrenx should be ceded to Philip, and the boundaries of France Normandy be fixed between that city and Neubourg: that the fortifications of Portes and Landes should be demolished, so that there should be no castles left between Gamaches and Andely: that John should give his niece Blanche, daughter of Alfonso VIII. king of Castile, to Lewis, prince of France, together with Yssadun, Grassay, and Chateauroux as her portion; that all the fiefs he claimed in Berry should be immediately put into the hands of Lewis, who should enjoy them during his life, whether the marriage should or should not take effect; but failing issue by Blanche, they should revert to John or his heirs, at the death of Lewis: that if John should die without children, the fiefs of Hugh de Gournay, and of the counts of Aumale and Perche, should fall to Lewis; and the king of England should hold of the crown of France, all the dominions on the continent possessed by Henry II. and Richard, except the Vexin Normand, and the above-mentioned alienations; that he should pay to Philip twenty thousand marks for his relief and the fiefs of Brittany, for which duchy Arthur should do damage to John, who should grant no aid to his nephew

nephew Otho, either in troops or money, without the consent of Philip. The counts of Flanders, Boulogne, and Engoulesme, with the viscount of Limoges, were included in this treaty, which was guaranteed by most of the nobility of France, England, and Normandy, who swore to take arms against that prince who should first infringe the articles of agreement.

Such were the conditions of this peace, by which the king of England not only renounced his French alliance, but even deserted the cause of his nephew Otho, without reaping any other advantage than a bare promise from Philip, that he would abandon the interest of Arthur. It is even suggested, by an ancient historian, that in the contract of marriage there was a secret article, by which John engaged, that, if he should die without issue, he would bequeath all his foreign dominions to Lewis : a handsome legacy truly ! and fully sufficient to detach the French monarch from the interests of Arthur ! but a legacy which, in all probability, the nobility of those provinces would neither have allowed the one to give, nor the other to receive.

Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, Eleanor, notwithstanding her advanced age, set out for Castile, and having conducted Blanche as far as Fontevrault, com-

committed her to the care of Elias, archbishop of Bourdeaux, who attended her to Rouën; and, on the twenty-fifth of May,* she was married to Lewis at Portmort, near Andely, in the Norman territories; it being impossible to perform the ceremony in France, which still lay under an interdict. After the solemnization of the nuptials, the young princess was conveyed to Paris for her education, as her husband was but in the thirteenth year of his age, and she still younger. John swore fealty to Philip, as lord paramount of Normandy; and Arthur did homage to his uncle, for the duchy of Bretagne.

In the interval between the agreement and the ratification of the treaty, John had come over to England, in order to raise money for fulfilling his engagements with Philip. For this purpose he laid a tax of three shillings a hyde upon all the land in the kingdom; a step which he probably took by his own authority, in as much as Geoffry, archbishop of York, would not allow it to be levied upon any of his tenants, which it is not probable he would have ventured to do, had the tax been imposed by the great council of the nation.

John, however, found means to procure the sum he wanted, and immediately return-

ed to Normandy, from whence, after the ratification of the treaty, he repaired into Guienne, where he received the homage of Aimery, viscount de Thouars, whom Eleanor had gained over to his interest; and an oath of fealty, from the counts of Thoulouse, Engoulesme, La Marche, Limoges, and all the barons of the country.

But his right to Guienne was strongly contested by his nephew Otho, who laid claim as well to this duchy as to the earldom of York, by virtue of a grant from the late king; and, as he was highly incensed at the peace which John had concluded with France, he sent his brother Henry, duke of Saxony, to demand possession of those fiefs, and of the legacy bequeathed to him by Richard.

Both these demands were rejected by John, who, upon this occasion, made use of a jesuitical artifice, which he had probably learned from his French ally. He pretended that he could not comply with Otho's requests, as he had bound himself by an oath not to assist him either with money, jewels, lands, or forces: an excellent subterfuge truly! as if a man, forsooth, by swearing that he will not pay his debts, could thereby free himself from all obligations to satisfy his creditors!

John

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John was frequently hurried by the violence of his passions, into such measures as were productive of infinite mischief, both to himself and his kingdom. He had now lived ten years with his first wife Isabel, grand-daughter of Robert earl of Gloucester, natural brother of Maude the empress. But as she had brought him no children, he resolved to procure a divorce from her, either on account of her barrenness or consanguinity; and, in pursuance of this resolution, he had sent the bishop of Lisieux, and three English noblemen, as his ambassadors, to demand the daughter of the king of Portugal in marriage.

These deputies had actually reached the court of Portugal, and met with a very favourable reception; when an incident happened that rendered all their negotiations ineffectual. Isabel, daughter of Aymar Taillefer, count of Engoulesme, had been affianced to Hugh Le Brun, count of La Marche; and John happening to see the young lady, on his expedition into Guienne, demanded her in marriage of her father, who, expecting great advantages from such an intimate connexion with his lord and sovereign, readily consented to the match, and found means to convey his daughter to Engoulesme. The conclusion of the marriage was as sudden, as the courtship had been

been short. John immediately procured a sentence of divorce, from the archbishop of Bourdeaux, assisted by the bishops of Poitiers and Saintes; and, in a few days after, was married to Isabel at Engoulesme.

This imprudent and precipitate measure was the occasion of much mischief, and exposed John to the hatred and resentment of many enemies. The king of Portugal considered it as an unpardonable affront offered to his daughter, and, in the first transport of his rage, could hardly be restrained from violating the sacred character of the ambassadors. The pope was highly incensed at a match, founded upon a divorce, which he had not been solicited to confirm: and the count of La Marche, who had suffered the greatest injury, in being thus cruelly robbed of a princess whom he tenderly loved, was inflamed with such a spirit of resentment, that he vowed to be revenged upon the king of England, whom, indeed, he had many opportunities of annoying in the sequel.

John, in his return from this expedition, visited Angers, where he exacted one hundred and fifty hostages from the citizens, as a security for their good behaviour; and then repairing to England, with his fair bride, was, on the eighth of October, crowned at Westminster, by Hubert, archbishop

bishop of Canterbury. This prelate had lately held a synod at Westminster, notwithstanding the prohibition of the justiciary, and enacted several canons for the reformation of abuses which had crept into the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and particularly for preventing those oppressions which were usually committed by prelates, archdeacons, and rural deans, in making their visitations with too great a number of attendants, and presuming to levy talliages, and other exactions, upon the inferior clergy.

Each of these new regulations, concluded with a salvo of the honour and privileges of the church of Rome ; a form to which there is no parallel to be found in the decrees of any English council, either before or after this period, and which Hubert probably introduced in order to ingratiate himself with pope Innocent, from whom he wanted to procure a renewal of his legatine authority.

This pontiff was a man of great resolution and abilities, and extremely well qualified for extending the privileges of the church of Rome. After having inflamed the zeal of the people, by the sermons of his emissaries, he imposed a tax of the fortieth part of all ecclesiastical revenues in Italy, Sclavonia, Germany, France, and the
British

British isles, to defray the charges of a new crusade, to be undertaken against the Saracens ; and sent one Philip, a Roman notary, to collect the money in England.

While he thus exercised his authority over the clergy, he did not fail to exhort the laity to make a voluntary contribution for the same pious and laudable purpose. The king of France levied the same tax in all his dominions ; and John not only gave the fortieth part of his revenue for one year, but likewise authorized the same collection to be made from all the barons, military tenants, and freeholders, throughout the kingdom.

The ceremony of the queen's coronation was no sooner performed, than John sent a splendid embassy, composed of the bishop of Durham, the earls of Norfolk, Hereford, and Huntingdon, and other honourable persons, to invite the king of Scotland to his court at Lincoln, where he proposed to receive his homage.

William thought proper to obey the summons, and, repairing with Roland, lord of Galloway, to the place appointed, did homage to John in public, upon Brehill ; swearing, on the cross of archbishop Hubert, that he would be his liegeman, and bear faith to him of life, limb, and terrene honour, against all men ; and that, saving the rights

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of his own crown, he would keep peace with him and his kingdom. This homage was probably paid for the counties of Lothian and Galloway, which had formerly held of the Cumbrian kingdom, as William, at this time, possessed no fiefs in England: for his claim to the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, was not yet admitted; but the consideration of that affair was, to his great chagrin and disappointment, deferred to the Whitsuntide following.

John having kept his Christmas at Guildford, with great magnificence, set out on a progress through the northern counties, and in his way through York he had an interview with his natural brother Geoffry, with whom he happily compromised all his differences. From thence he returned to Canterbury, where, on the festival of Easter,* according to the custom of the ancient kings, he and his queen were crowned in the cathedral, by Hubert, assisted by the bishops of Dublin, London, Rochester, Ely, and Norwich.

While John was thus revelling in the delights of his new marriage, the bad effects of that alliance began to appear in Guienne, where an insurrection was raised by the count of La Marche, and his brother Ralf de

de Yffadun, who, in right of his wife Alice, was possessed of the county of Eu in Normandy. John, informed of these commotions, dispatched orders to Guerin de Glapion, seneschal of Normandy, to invade Ralf's territories, and besiege the castle of Driencourt. The place was accordingly invested; but the siege was soon raised by the king of France, who marched to its relief with a numerous army.

John finding that his own presence would be necessary to suppress these disturbances, summoned the earls and barons of England to meet him at Portsmouth, well provided with arms and horses, to serve him on the continent; but the nobility, though conscious of their obligation to attend their sovereign in all his wars with foreign potentates, were nevertheless unwilling to put themselves to so much trouble and expence, on every trifling occasion; and as they understood the present commotion was only a petty insurrection, raised by some discontented barons, they absolutely refused to obey his orders, unless he would restore their ancient rights.

John, alarmed at this spirited resolution of his barons, commanded them to deliver up their castles. William de Albiny, the first nobleman to whom he made this demand, compounded for his castle of Bel-

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voir, by giving his son as an hostage ; and the rest, upon paying a scutage of two marks for every knight's fee, were excused from the expedition. John having dispatched the earl of Pembroke and the constable of Chester, with two hundred men at arms, to suppress the revolted abroad, and left Hubert de Burgh as guardian of the Welsh Marches, he and his queen embarked at Portsmouth, and, after a tedious and dangerous passage, landed safely in Normandy.

Soon after his arrival on the continent, he had a conference with Philip, near Andely, where every thing was settled so much to their mutual satisfaction, that Philip invited the king of England to attend him to Paris ; an invitation which the other readily accepted.

After having been entertained for several days, with great splendour and magnificence, he returned to Chinon, where he was visited by the queen dowager Berengaria, to whom he assigned, in lieu of her dower, the revenue of the city of Bayeux and its dependencies, two castles in Anjou, and an annuity of a thousand marks.

He was now on the borders of Guienne, with an army sufficient to have reduced the rebels to obedience ; but instead of marching against them in person, he returned to
Nor-

Normandy, and left Robert de Turnham to subdue the revolters.

These barons had complained to the king of England, of the many injuries they suffered from the cruelty and injustice of his officers, who invaded their rights and privileges, and deprived them of their castles; but finding it impossible to obtain satisfaction from that quarter, they had, at last, applied to the king of France, as lord paramount of their fiefs, desiring him to take them under his protection, and procure them a redress of their grievances.

Philip had accordingly interposed in their behalf, and pressed the English monarch to give satisfaction to his barons; and John had promised to comply with his request. But instead of proceeding according to the forms of law, and indulging the barons with a fair hearing, he sent among them a number of genteel bullies, remarkable for strength and agility, who professed themselves his champions, and offered to decide the quarrel in single combat, according to the practice of the times.

But this was only adding insult to injustice. The count of La Marche, and his brother, rejected the challenge with disdain, because these champions were not their peers, and applied again to the king of France, who sent a very severe reproof

to John, and insisted upon his doing justice to his vassals, otherwise he should be obliged to espouse their quarrel in a more effectual manner.

John declared that he had hitherto been hindered by a multiplicity of business, from taking their complaints into consideration; that he would immediately hold a court at Angers, for the redress of their grievances; and that if they would come to London, they should be furnished with letters of safe-conduct; but this promise, like his former, he still found various pretences to evade.

Mean while, the duchess of Bretagne dying, Arthur repaired from Paris to Rennes, in order to take possession of the duchy, and receive the homage of the nobility.* This prince supported the complaints of the barons of Guienne, and demanded justice of Philip, with regard to his own rights, as well in that fief as in those of Normandy and Anjou; and the king of France, now free from all disputes with the court of Rome, and incensed at the little regard which had been paid to his remonstrances, actually prepared to support the complainants by force of arms.

John, alarmed at the prospect of a war, dispatched ambassadors to Philip, with the most solemn assurances of immediate redress; but

but Philip threatened to begin hostilities immediately, unless he would deliver up the castles of Tillieres and Boutavant, as pledges of his sincerity. The king of England agreed to the condition, and a day was fixed for surrendering these fortresses into the hands of Philip; but when that prince appeared before them, the governours shut the gates against him, alledging, they had not received any orders on the subject.

Philip, enraged at such a series of collusion, resolved to commence hostilities without delay; and John, in order to avert the danger, desired a conference in the isle of Goulet, near Andely. At this interview, Philip insisted upon his ceding to Arthur all the provinces that held of France, or giving security that he would stand to the judgment of the French court, to which he had been summoned a few days after the festival of Easter. But John, whose pride was equal to his indolence, rejected the proposal, and summoned prince Arthur to come and do him homage for the duchy of Bretagne.

Immediately after the conference, Philip laid siege to Tillieres and Boutavant, both of which he reduced; and having made himself master of Mortemar, Lions, Argueuil, and several other castles, he set down before Gournay, situated on the river Epte, and reckoned

reckoned one of the strongest places on the frontiers of Normandy. This fortress was so strong, both by art and nature, and defended by such a numerous garrison, supplied with great store of provisions, that there was no hopes of taking it by force; but Philip had recourse to an expedient, which effectually answered his purpose. He broke down the banks of a large pool in the higher ground, and the water rushed down upon the wall of the castle, with such an impetuous torrent, that the garrison and inhabitants were obliged to consult their safety by a precipitate flight. As soon as the water subsided, Philip took possession of the town, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon young Arthur, investing him at the same time in the duchies of Brittany, Guienne, and Anjou; and giving him his daughter Mary, yet an infant, in marriage.

Arthur, elated with these marks of distinction, and desirous of making his first essay in arms, was furnished by his father-in-law, with a sum of money, and two hundred knights to attack Guienne; and the militia of Berry and Burgundy, were ordered to march to his assistance; but Arthur's ambition to signalize his prowess was so great, that he did not wait for this reinforcement. Receiving intelli-

gence,

gence, as he passed through Poitou, that queen Eleanor was in the castle of Mire-leau, he marched thither, and took it by assault, his grandmother retiring into a tower, in hopes of being relieved by her son.

John was no sooner informed of the danger to which she was exposed, than overcoming, for once, the indolence of his nature, he marched to her assistance, at the head of his Brabantins, and surrounded Arthur's small body, before they were aware of his approach. They had not yet been joined by the French militia; but being reinforced by a small party of Poitevin barons, they were so confident of their own bravery, that they imprudently resolved to engage the hardy Brabantins in the open plain.

For this purpose, they drew out their forces, and attacked the enemy with great spirit and resolution; but, after a most obstinate and bloody battle, they were obliged to yield to superiour numbers, and were driven back to the castle, where prince Arthur himself, with the count of La Marche, Geoffry de Lusignan, Andrew de Chavigny, the viscount of Chatillerault, Savory de Maubon, several other barons, and above two hundred knights were taken prisoners. Philip, informed of this disaster, raised

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raised the siege of Arques, and, in order to support the party of Arthur, marched immediately to the Loire, where, having reduced the city of Tours, he set the houses on fire, levelled the walls, and dismantled the castle.

Had John known how to improve the late victory, he might have established himself in the quiet possession of all his dominions, and acquired the character of generosity and equity, by his humane treatment of his captives. But cowards are always cruel, and generally imprudent. Instead of pursuing such a generous and noble conduct, he was guilty of a series of cruelty and barbarity, that not only exposed him to the loss of all his foreign dominions, but will ever stain his name with an eternal mark of infamy. All his prisoners, except Arthur, the count of La Marche, and Geoffry de Lusignan, he sent to England, where they were close confined to different castles, and no less than two and twenty of them were furnished to death.

It is an old observation, that there is but a short interval between the imprisonment and the death of princes. Arthur was conveyed to the castle of Falaise, where John is said to have visited him in person, and endeavoured to detach him from the interests of France; but the young prince, instead

instead of complying with his request, treated him with that contempt and disdain, which treachery and baseness should always receive from conscious virtue.

John could not bear to be thus insulted by a stripling and a captive. He was daily importuned by the king of France, and the barons of Brittany, to set him at liberty. He dreaded his talents, his title, and his revenge, and actuated by all these motives, he resolved to deprive him of his life.

He is said to have sent an order to Hubert de Burgh, constable of Falaise, to put out his eyes, and render him incapable of propagation; but the constable refused to be the perpetrator of such a horrid and barbarous deed; however, in order to appease the resentment of his master, and dispirit the friends of the young prince, he gave out that Arthur was dead, and the bells tolled for him all over Normandy*.

But this expedient produced an effect very different from what was expected: the Bretons, incensed at his supposed murder, vowed revenge and eternal enmity against John; and such a spirit of mutiny and rebellion prevailed through all his foreign

reign dominions, that Hubert, in order to prevent an actual insurrection, was obliged to discover that he was still alive.

A prince, possessed of common sense, would have easily learned from the late expression of the people's sentiments, how extremely dangerous it would be to make any attempt upon the life of Arthur; but John, blinded by his ambition, jealousy and revenge, ordered him to be conveyed from Falaise, to the castle of Rouën, where he was murdered in such a private and clandestine manner, that the circumstances of this cruel tragedy, could never be discovered with any degree of certainty.

John is said to have pressed William de Bray to dispatch the young prince; but that officer answered that he was a gentleman, and not an executioner. He afterwards endeavoured to prevail upon others to undertake the brutal task; but they all rejected the barbarous office, with a noble contempt and disdain. Finding that all his officers were possessed of more humanity than himself, he resolved to execute with his own hands the horrid scheme which his own heart had suggested.

For this purpose, he went in the night by water, to the tower of Rouën, and ordering Arthur to be brought into the boat, thrust his sword several times through his
body

body, which, being carried down the stream of the Seine to a considerable distance, was sunk with a heavy stone in the river. From thence it was afterwards dragged ashore in the net of a fisherman, and privately buried in the priory of Notre Dame du Pré, without the knowledge of the tyrant.

Whatever be in this, certain it is the young prince disappeared all on a sudden; and John endeavoured to propagate a report of his having perished in the river, in attempting to make his escape from a window of the castle.

But this report gained little credit, except among the creatures and dependants of the barbarous assassin. All the impartial world believed that Arthur was murdered by the contrivance of his uncle; and this supposition was strengthened by two remarkable circumstances; one was, that it was committed a few days after the death of the queen-mother, during whose life the cruel villain durst not have perpetrated such a horrid deed; and the other, that immediately after the commission of the crime, he hastened over to England, and was crowned at Canterbury, thinking, perhaps, with a weakness equal to his wickedness, that this ceremony would conse-

crate him anew, and purify him from the guilt he had contracted.

At the same time, he brought over with him Arthur's sister Eleanor, now heiress of Brittany, therefore surnamed La Brette, or the damosel of Bretagne, who, as she inherited her brother's title to the crown, was now become the object of John's jealousy. In order, therefore, to prevent her from raising any disturbances in the kingdom, or having any children who might dispute the throne with his posterity, he committed her to close custody in the castle of Bristol, under the guard of four knights, that she might have no opportunity of engaging in a clandestine marriage.

The tyrant imagined, that by the murder of his nephew, and the imprisonment of his neice, he had firmly established himself in the quiet possession of all his dominions; but John's head was as stupid as his heart was wicked. These cruel and barbarous measures, were so far from producing the effect he expected, that they not only deprived him of most of his territories on the continent, but even made him totter on the throne of England. These fatal consequences, however, he had not the sagacity to foresee.

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In consequence of Arthur's death, he demanded the administration of Brittany, as guardian of Eleanor, who was then in his power; but the Bretons, enraged at the murder of their prince, whose virtues and abilities had rendered him the object of universal love and admiration, received his proposal with horror; and, instead of complying with his demand, they appointed Guy de Thouars, the last husband of Constance, the chief of their council of government, and guardian to his infant daughter Alice, whom they proposed to acknowledge as their duchess, provided they could not obtain the release of her eldest sister Eleanor, which they had hitherto in vain solicited.

Not satisfied with this expression of their resentment, they convoked an assembly of the states at Vannes, and drew up articles of impeachment against John, whom they accused of murder and parricide, lodging their accusation in the court of the peers of France, and deputing Richard de Mareschal, the bishop of Rennes, who had been Arthur's chancellor, to carry on the process. John was accordingly summoned to appear, and answer the charge exhibited against him; and failing to obey the summons, he was condemned by the unanimous sentence of

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the peers, expressed in these terms: "Where-
 " as John, duke of Normandy, forgetting
 " his oath to king Philip his lord, has
 " murdered his elder brother's son, an
 " homager of France, and the king's kinf-
 " man, and perpetrated the crime within
 " the seignory of France, he is found guilty
 " of felony and treason, and adjudged to
 " forfeit all the territories which he holds
 " by homage."

This sentence produced a surprizing and almost instantaneous effect in John's foreign dominions; most of the considerable barons deserting his cause, and joining the king of France, who now resolved to carry the decree of his court into immediate execution. Juhael de Mayenne, a powerful lord in Bretagne, left the tyrant upon the first report of the murder, and joined his countrymen in the prosecution; and William de Roches abandoned him on the same occasion, and took Angers by surprize. In a word, the defection became so general, that John, following the blind impulse of his brutal disposition, and despairing perhaps of ever being able to reclaim his subjects to their duty, ordered all their hostages to be put to death.

In the mean time, Philip having raised an army, and being reinforced by the barons
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of Brittany and Poitou, advanced beyond the Loire, where he reduced a great number of fortresses ; the town of Alençon, and several other places on the borders of Normandy being put into his hands by the governours. But as he imagined that the discontented barons would be abundantly able, by their own strength, to throw off the English yoke, he thought it needless to put himself to the expence of maintaining an army, and accordingly dismissed his forces.

John seized this opportunity to invest Alençon, hoping he should be able to reduce it, before the enemy could assemble a force sufficient to raise the siege. But the spirit of resentment which John had excited by his cruel and bloody measures, supplied the place of an army. Philip, understanding there was a vast concourse of knights at a tournament in the neighbourhood of Moret, immediately repaired thither, and endeavoured to persuade them to march to the relief of Alençon, telling them that now they had an opportunity of wreaking their revenge on the English tyrant : this was sufficient ; they asked no more ; snatching up their arms, and forming themselves into a body, they advanced with such expedition that John raised the siege, and fled with

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great precipitation, leaving his machines, tents, and baggage behind him.

Encouraged by this success, and pressed by the repeated importunities of the discontented barons, Philip turned his arm against Normandy, where he took Conches, Vaudrueil, and several other places. Advancing farther into the country, he was put in possession of Montfort and Beaumont Le Roger, by the respective governours, who revolted to him with their garrisons; and, at last, he laid siege to the famous fortress of Chateau-Gaillard.

This castle was situated on such a high and craggy rock, that its walls could neither be scaled, nor battered with military engines. Over against it, in the isle of Andely, was another fortress, within the walls of which was a palace built by king Richard, who had fortified both these places with so much skill and judgment, that they were generally deemed impregnable, and could only be reduced by famine.

John was in no condition to raise the siege of this important fortress, which was considered as the bulwark of Normandy; and, though he was at the head of an army equal to that of the enemy, he durst not hazard a battle. Conscious of his crimes, and of the universal odium he had incurred
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by the murder of Arthur, he suspected the fidelity of his troops; and being now deprived of the prudent advice of his mother Eleanor, he had no body about him that had influence enough to animate him to a vigorous conduct.

Discouraged by his late defeat, and alarmed at the prospect of still greater dangers, he had solicited the pope to interpose his good offices, in order to effect an accommodation. That pontiff had, accordingly, sent the abbots of Casemare and Trefons to negotiate a treaty, commanding both princes to assemble their prelates and nobility, in order to adjust the articles of a peace, and to repair the churches and monasteries which had been demolished, in the course of the war between the two kingdoms.

But Philip soon found means to extricate himself from this difficulty. He immediately dispatched ambassadours to Rome, who represented John in such odious and hateful colours, that Innocent was ashamed to countenance such a monster of vice and wickedness, and readily withdrew his interposition.

John, deprived of all hopes of assistance from this quarter, and surrounded with dangers on every side, was at last driven, by mere necessity, to attempt the relief of Gaillard.

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illard. With this view, he detached the earl of Pembroke, with four thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a large body of Brabantins, to attack the besiegers, while a fleet of seventy flat-bottomed boats, loaded with provisions and ammunition, and manned with three thousand Flemings, was rowed up the river, to destroy a bridge of boats formed by the enemy, and throw succours into the castle.

The two detachments set out together in the beginning of the night, with great secrecy ; and, had they arrived at the same time, the scheme would probably have succeeded. But the fleet moving slowly against wind and tide, the land-forces arrived at the scene of action long before it reached the bridge. The earl having waited till near break of day, at last attacked the enemy's camp, which was filled with terror and consternation. The Brabantins, however, who were more intent upon plunder than victory, immediately dispersed to pillage the camp ; and the French, recovering their surprize, instantly rallied, and charged them with such resolution that they were totally routed, and fled in great confusion.

The fleet did not appear till day-light ; and the French, having united their whole
force,

force, gave the English such a warm reception, that all their attempts to demolish the bridge, or throw succours into the place, were rendered ineffectual.

Such was the fate of an enterprize which was well laid, but badly executed ; and this was the last effort which John made for the defence of his foreign dominions. Philip did not fail to improve this advantage. He soon made himself master of the town of Andely, situated at the foot of Chateau-Gaillard, which he had now blocked up so effectually, that it was absolutely impossible to relieve the garrison either with men or provisions.

He soon after invested the castle of Ra-depont, in the neighbourhood of Roüen, and, in less than three weeks, obliged it to surrender. John, regardless of all these losses indulged himself in riot and debauchery, as if he had enjoyed a perfect peace and tranquillity ; and when he was reminded of Philip's progress, he replied :
“ Let him proceed ; I shall recover more
“ in one day, than he can conquer in a
“ whole year.” In a word, his sloth and indolence was grown to such a pitch of stupidity, that people began to suspect he was bewitched ; and the English nobility, foreseeing the fatal consequences of such
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an unaccountable behaviour, desired permission to repair to England; from whence they promised, in a short time, to return.

But John did not put their sincerity to the test; for having demolished the walls of Moulenaux, Montfort, and Pont de L'Arche, as if he intended to lay the country open to the incursions of the enemy, he ordered some ships to be prepared for his passage, and, stealing from Normandy, landed at Portsmouth on the sixth of December. The Normans considered this shameful and precipitate departure, as an absolute renunciation of the duchy to the lord paramount, whom they accordingly admitted into almost all their castles; and who was now in possession of all the fortresses on the Vexin frontier, except Chateau-Gaillard, which still held out, through the courage and conduct of Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester, who commanded the garrison*.

Philip was extremely desirous of reducing this place, and left no means unattempted in order to accomplish his purpose. Having, at last, with incredible labour, filled up a hollow way between the castle and an opposite rock, so that his engines

* A. D. 1204.

engines could act against the walls, and having, at the same time, employed a number of men to sap the foundation, his endeavours were crowned with success. The fort was taken after a siege of six months, and the governour made prisoner, with the remaining part of the garrison, which was now reduced to about one hundred and fifty fighting men. De Lacy was treated with great respect for the noble defence he had made, and was even allowed to live at liberty in Paris upon his parole, but he could not obtain his release, until he had paid six thousand marks for his ransom.

John, conscious of his own demerit, was so jealous of the fidelity of his subjects, that he was afraid to entrust the government of Normandy to any of his barons, but had left it in the hands of Arches Martin and Lupecaire, two Brabantin chiefs, to the general disgust of the whole province. In consequence of this and other measures equally imprudent, most of the nobility had already revolted, or were ready to revolt to the French monarch, who, immediately after the reduction of Gaillard, laid siege to Falaise, the bulwark of lower Normandy; but Lupecaire, the governour, saved him the trouble of opening his batteries, fur-

surrendering the castle on the first summons, and entering, with his Brabantins, into the service of France: the usual consequence of entrusting the defence of a country to foreign mercenaries. Seez, Argentan and Danfront submitted without opposition: the inhabitants of Caen opened their gates at the enemy's approach; and their example was followed by those of Lisieux, Bayeux, and Coutances; while Guy de Thouars, with four hundred knights, and a numerous army of Bretons, invaded Normandy on the side of Bretagne, and took Pantorson, Mont St. Michael, Avranches, and Mortain; his troops, composed chiefly of Banditti and freebooters, ravaging the country with great barbarity.

Though John had not courage enough to oppose the French in their conquests, he was so nettled at this incursion, that he equipped an armament of English, who made a descent upon Brittany in Guy's absence, reduced Dol, Fagoeres, and several other places, plundered the country, and, at the approach of Guy's army, reinforced by a body of French troops, embarked at Concale, in the neighbourhood of St. Malo, and retired to England.

Philip

Philip had now reduced the whole duchy of Normandy, except Vernueil, Arques, and Roüen. These three places had entered into a league for their mutual defence, and engaged that, in case they should be obliged to submit, none of them should capitulate without including the others in the treaty.

Roüen, the capital, was the first of the three which Philip invested. It was fortified by a double wall and triple ditch; was extremely populous, and too large to be surrounded by an army. The inhabitants were so averse to the French government, that Philip no sooner appeared before its walls, than the populace massacred some of his subjects, who happened to be in the city: when summoned to surrender, they declared their resolution to defend themselves to the last extremity, and immediately sent deputies to England, to solicit assistance.

John had dispatched the bishops of Canterbury, Ely, and Norwich, with the earls of Pembroke and Leicester, to sue for peace at the court of France; but Philip insisted on very hard terms. He demanded that he should give Eleanor in marriage to his younger son, together with all the dominions he held of the crown of France,

These conditions were haughtily rejected by John, who, from that time, gave up all thoughts of defending Normandy; so that when the deputies of Rouen applied to him for relief, he sent them back in despair, and desired them to surrender upon the best terms they could obtain.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, the citizens continued to defend themselves with great vigour, until the Barbican, a fort that covered the bridge, was taken. Discouraged by this loss, wearied out by the length of the siege, and deprived of all hopes of assistance, they, at last, agreed to deliver up the city, if peace should not be made before the end of the month. Arques and Vernueil were to be included in the capitulation, and to have their privileges confirmed. As no accommodation was effected within the time prescribed, the three associated cities surrendered according to the articles of agreement. Thus was Normandy re-united to the kingdom of France, after a separation of two hundred and ninety-two years; and Philip, soon after, completed the conquest of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, except the castle of Chinon, which was bravely defended by Hubert de Burgh, till the ensuing summer, when he was taken in the

the place, after having been dangerously wounded.

The loss of such considerable territories, which would have aroused a prince possessed of the least spark of magnanimity, gave no concern to the king of England. He indulged himself in the pleasures of riot and debauchery, and in the gratification of his private resentment, by confiscating the English estates of the Norman barons, and wreaking his vengeance upon John de Courcy, the conquerour, and lord of Ulster, who had refused to do him homage, and openly accused him of murder and usurpation.

Walter de Lacy, and his brother Hugh, were ordered to seize the person of this nobleman; which, as they were unable to do by force, they resolved to accomplish by treachery. Walter, having invited him to a conference, attacked him with a body of troops prepared for the purpose; so that after most of his retinue was slain, he was obliged to consult his safety by a precipitate flight. As he passed through the lands of Hugh de Lacy, he was invited by this last to take refuge in his castle, until he could raise his forces. John, suspecting no treachery in a man who was his vassal, and had done him homage, accepted the invitation;

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tation ; but he was detained in this place, until his followers wasted the lands of the Lacys in such a manner, that they were forced to set him at liberty.

After this, he defeated them both in a pitched battle ; and they again had recourse to their former arts of treachery and deceit. They corrupted the integrity of his servants, who seized him on Good-Friday, as he was going to church, and delivered him to Hugh, who brought him over to England, where he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, while Lacy was rewarded with a grant of the earldom of Ulster.

But though John had little or no concern about the public good, he was always attentive to his own private interest ; though he was entirely regardless of the damage the kingdom had sustained by the revolt of Normandy, he, nevertheless, resolved to improve that circumstance to his own advantage. He complained loudly of the conduct of those noblemen, who had left him at Rouen, as if their retreat had occasioned the loss of Normandy ; and, on this pretence, extorted from them a seventh part of their moveables : he likewise contrived means for laying imposts on the convents, and parish churches ; and convoked a great
council

council of the nation at Oxford, in order to concert measures for recovering his foreign dominions.

To defray the charges of this expedition, a scutage was levied on the nobility and military tenants, at the rate of two marks and an half for every knight's fee; and the prelates and clergy were forced to promise the like aid, before they were suffered to depart.* But the money arising from these taxes, instead of being applied to the purposes of an expedition, was squandered away in luxury and extravagance.

Mean while, Robert de Turham, and Savary de Mauleon, who still adhered to the English interest in Poitou, had opposed, with great courage and conduct, the superior forces of the other barons of the province, supported by the king of France. But the city of Poitiers being at last reduced, Robert taken prisoner, and the castle of Loches obliged to surrender, the whole county was in the most imminent danger of being totally subdued.

In this extremity, the partizans of the English monarch applied to him for assistance; and John equipped a powerful armament, in order to cross the sea in person. But when he was ready to embark, the

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* A. D. 1205.

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archbishop of Canterbury, and William Mareschal, endeavoured to dissuade him from the undertaking. They represented to him, the great danger he would run by trusting his person among the fickle and faithless Poitevins, while he had no place of strength in the country, except the castle of Niort. They further reminded him of the imprudence of leaving his kingdom defenceless, at a time when an invasion was threatened by the duke of Louvain and the count of Boulogne, supported by whole power of France. These, and many other arguments, were used to persuade John to relinquish the enterprize; but he lent a deaf ear to all their remonstrances, though they even entreated him on their knees; finding him still inflexible, they at last changed their strain, and plainly told him they would detain him by force, rather than the realm should be exposed to ruin by his departure.

John's cowardice was equal to his obstinacy. He now granted to their menaces, what he had formerly refused to their entreaties; and promised to be governed by their advice. It was accordingly resolved to send William Longuepée, earl of Salisbury, with a strong body of forces, to the assistance of the Poitevins. In consequence
of

of this resolution, he dismissed the greatest part of his army, and repaired to Winchester; but, repenting of the prudent step he had taken, he returned to Portsmouth, and immediately embarked.

But his mind was more changeable and inconstant, than the watry element on which he sailed. He had proceeded but a few leagues, when he ordered the pilot to tack about, and land him on the English coast. Instead of blushing, as he ought to have done, at the absurd and ridiculous nature of this expedition, he had the impudence to make it a handle for squeezing large sums of money from his subjects, because they had refused to follow him to the continent, in order to recover his lost dominions.

Guy de Thouars, who governed Bretagne during the minority of his daughter Alice, had lately made an advantageous match with one Eustace de Mauleon, a young heiress of considerable fortune in Guienne, for which he was obliged to John, who, as lord paramount of the country, had the disposal of heiresses in marriage. He was likewise become jealous of the growing power of the French monarch, who had not only conquered the adjoining counties

counties ; but had also formed such a strong party among the Bretons, that he began to tremble for the fate of the province.

Prompted by these considerations, he earnestly wished to see John re-established in the dominions he had lost, so as to form a ballance against the power of France, and confirm his own authority in Bretagne, which was extremely precarious. He had found means to draw over to his sentiments his brother Aimery, viscount of Thouars, whom Philip had created seneschal of the province ; and, in concert with him, he formed a small association of barons, who favoured the English interest, and invited John to come over, and take possession.

John readily accepted the invitation, and embarking at Portsmouth with a strong body of forces, landed at Rochelle on the ninth of July. He was immediately joined by the two brothers, and the other associated barons ; but instead of attempting the reduction of Brittany, he advanced to Montauban in Quercy, belonging to his brother-in-law the count of Thoulouse, who had sided with Philip ; and after having invested the place for fifteen days, took it by assault. This success is said to have been chiefly owing to the bravery of the English troops, who behaved with incredible valour ; for which,
indeed,

indeed, they were amply rewarded by the immense booty they found in the place, and the great number of noblemen whom they made prisoners.

The king of France, upon receiving the first intelligence of John's treaty with Guy de Thouars, had invaded Brittany, taken Nantes, and forced the governour of the duchy to a submission. He had hardly returned from this expedition, when he was informed of John's arrival at Rochelle, in consequence of which he marched into Poitou; but hearing that the English army was employed in the siege of Montauban, he fortified Mirebeau, Loudun, and some other places, and then returned to Paris.

After the reduction of Montauban, John advanced to Angers, which he took and burnt, after having laid waste the adjacent country as far as Craon. He then fell into the Pais Nantois, which he treated in the same manner, and at last invested the capital of the province. But he was soon obliged to raise the siege, and marched into Thouars, in order to protect the count from the resentment of Philip, who now invaded his country, in revenge for his having joined the English monarch.

While he lay in this territory, Philip advanced to give him battle; but John, with his

his usual cowardice, declined the challenge, and sent deputies to sue for a peace, and to propose a conference. Accordingly, an interview was appointed to be held the next day; and John embraced the opportunity of the intervening night, ingloriously to steal away with his army to Rochelle, where he embarked for England. Notwithstanding this shameful retreat, and the affront thereby offered to the French monarch, the pope employed his good offices so effectually, that Philip agreed to a truce for two years, in hopes of being able to compromise all differences during that interval.

The truce was no sooner expired, than the English surprized Guerplic, a strong castle on the north coast of Bretagne, and very commodiously situated for protecting troops, either in landing or embarking; but this place was soon retaken by Juhael de Mayenne, seneschal of Brittany, and the count of S. Pol, who had come with a strong body of French troops, to the assistance of the Bretons.

At the same time Philip entering Poitou, with a numerous army, reduced Parthenay, and some other castles, which he dismantled; and Henry Clement, his marshal, in an engagement with the English, took Hugh de Thouars, the viscount's brother,
Henry

Henry de Lusignan, and several other Poitevin barons, who favoured the interest of the king of England. This would have proved an irreparable blow to the English party, had not another truce been concluded by the mediation of the pope, who, notwithstanding his quarrel with John, was extremely desirous of effecting a peace between the two crowns, that the French might not be diverted from the prosecution of a war which he had kindled, and sanctified with the name of a crusade, against the Albigenes in Languedoc.

There was one advantage which John never failed to derive from all his expeditions to the continent: they furnished him with a pretext for extorting money from his subjects.* Immediately after his return from Poitou, he convoked a general council of his prelates and nobility, and demanded a thirteenth of all their rents and moveables. The nobility readily complied with his demand, and their example was followed by most of the clergy.

But Geoffry, archbishop of York, not only refused to pay his proportion, but even excommunicated all persons who should collect such a grievous tax upon the possessions of the clergy in his province; and, in general,

neral, all invaders of ecclesiastical effects; and then withdrew from the kingdom. The clergy were obliged, by the tenure of their lands, to perform military service, or, in default of that, to pay a scutage by way of composition; but, in all other respects, they had an absolute property in their goods, nor could any tax be levied upon them without their own consent.

In the kingdom of France, the constitution of which was originally the same with ours, this maxim is so religiously observed, even to this day, that when deputies are chosen to represent the clergy in the general assemblies of the nation, in order to make a gift to the sovereign, the rural deans are obliged to summon every individual within their several districts, to meet for the choice of their representatives; and if any clergyman happen to be omitted, he is not bound to pay the tax, but may plead his ignorance in excuse of his refusal.

Notwithstanding the opposition made by the archbishop of York, the talliage was actually levied, and Geoffry's goods were confiscated for his presumptuous behaviour; but the metropolitans remonstrated so strongly against the imposition, that John, to appease the minds of the people, remitted the whole exaction.

About

About this time, John involved himself in a quarrel with the pope, which was the occasion of great calamities to the nation. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, dying at his palace at Tenham, on the thirteenth of July, the younger monks of Christ-church met that very night, and, without the consent of the king or suffragans, chose Reginald, their sub-prior, for his successor. Having performed the ceremony of Te Deum, and placed him on the archiepiscopal throne, they dispatched him to Rome immediately, accompanied with twelve of their brethren, in order to receive the pope's confirmation. All concerned in this election, took an oath of secrecy, and Reginald was enjoined to conceal his commission, until he should reach the court of Rome.

But Reginald's vanity was greater than his prudence. He was no sooner arrived on the continent, than he promulgated his promotion; and when he arrived at Rome, Innocent refused to confirm him, until he should be better informed of the whole transaction.

In the mean time, he sent a bull to the suffragans of Canterbury, pressing them not to enter into any unnecessary dispute on the subject with the monks of Christ-church; and when they insisted upon their right of

electing the archbishop, he heard their cause before his own tribunal, and adjudged the right of election to be vested in the convent alone.

Mean while, the monks concerned in Reginald's election, were highly incensed against him on account of his having divulged the secret; and as the whole convent had not been assembled at the ceremony, they determined to set him aside, and apply to the king for leave to proceed to another election.

John granted their request, without restricting them to any conditions: he only told them in private, that he should be extremely glad if they would chuse John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, who was accordingly elected in all the usual forms; and, having been approved by his majesty, was put in possession of the temporalities of the see. Twelve of the monks were sent to Rome to procure his confirmation; but this was warmly opposed by the suffragans, because he had been elected without their consent.

The pope did not fail to improve this opportunity to his own advantage: he wanted to bring the church of England to a total subjection to the papal authority, for which reason he annulled both elections, and

and resolved to prefer a prelate, whom he knew to be warmly attached to the see of Rome.

Innocent had already endeavoured to extend his authority over the church of England. Under pretence of relieving the Christians in Palestine, he had laid a tax on the English clergy; and this being raised without murmurs, he was tempted to exert the same power for his own behoof. Accordingly, he had, during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, sent John Ferentino, as his legate, into England, to levy some fresh exactions, for which purpose a national synod of all the bishops, abbots, archdeacons, and the deputies of the inferior clergy was assembled at St. Albans; but a royal writ put a stop to their proceedings. However, while John was abroad in Guienne, the legate convoked another synod at Reading, where he levied a tax upon the clergy, amounting to a considerable sum, with which he got clear off before the king's return.

As this was an experiment which Innocent intended to repeat as often as he should have occasion, he resolved to fill the see of Canterbury with a prelate, who, instead of opposing his encroachments, would exert his utmost endeavours in supporting his authority.

Accordingly, he recommended to the deputies of the convent, one Stephen Langton, a Roman cardinal, of English descent, though bred in the university of Paris, in which he had taken the degree of doctor in divinity, and been appointed a prebendary in the cathedral of that city.

In vain did the monks alledge, that they were empowered only to sue for a confirmation of the second election; that their commission gave them no authority to chuse an archbishop; and that they could not obey the orders of his holiness, without the king's consent and express powers from their convent. The pope over-ruled all their objections, and commanded them to make choice of Langton, on pain of excommunication. Thus intimidated, eleven of the number complied; and Langton was confirmed by Innocent, on Trinity-Sunday, at Viterbo.

The pope must certainly have had a very mean opinion of John's abilities, to imagine that he could reconcile him to such an insult upon his royal prerogative, by a present of four stone rings, which he sent him, and upon which he made a ridiculous comment, stuffed with emblematical meanings and visionary fancies. He likewise wrote an artful and courtly letter to his majesty, in favour

*KING JOHN resigns his
Crown to the Popes Nuncio.*



Engraved for Pinder's History of England.



vour of Langton; and another to the monks of Christ-Church, enjoining them, upon their obedience, to receive Stephen as their archbishop, and obey him in all things, as well temporal as spiritual. At the same time, other letters were sent to the prelates and nobility, soliciting their good offices with the king, in behalf of that prelate.

But all these expedients were insufficient to appease the wrath of John, who immediately sent Henry de Cornhill, and Fulk de Canteloupe, with a body of troops to Canterbury, to expell the monks of Christ-Church, and hang them, should they refuse to quit the realm. These orders were executed with great rigour, the monks being threatened with having their monastery set on fire, and themselves consumed in the flames, if they would not leave the kingdom immediately. They accordingly embarked for Flanders, where they were received and maintained in the monasteries of that country: their effects were seized, their tenants ejected, and their place supplied with some monks belonging to the abbey of St. Augustine.

The End of the EIGHTH VOLUME.

BOOKS

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